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KOREA'S
FIGHT FOR FREEDOM
Volume II

Selected Addresses by Korean Statesmen

Korean Pacific Press
1620 Eye Street N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

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Korea's Fight for Freedom
Volume II

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1952

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I n t r o d u c t i o n

A year ago I edited the first collection of speeches by Korean statesmen ever to be published in English. The interest was considerable and the edition of 20,000 copies is largely exhausted. The speeches in that first volume dealt with the establishment of the Republic of Korea and with the determination of the Korean people to continue the *fight for freedom* even though considerable defeatist talk was heard in the United Nations corridors and was reflected in public commentaries after the entrance of the Chinese Communists heralded "an entirely new war."

The speeches selected for inclusion in this second volume deal chiefly with a theme also considered "defeatist" by the Korean spokesmen: the truce negotiations which were initiated by Jacob Malik's talk on the U. N. Radio on June 23, 1951, and which have continued fruitlessly ever since. In a Memorandum dated January 30, 1952, President Syngman Rhee wrote:

The reasons why we Koreans are not in a mood for a compromise peace are not only because it is not such a peace as you and we want, but it is only a postponement of a bigger war. Here in Korea all the U. N. forces as well as our civilian population ask themselves, "Have we accomplished our objectives?" What are the objectives? The immediate one is to establish a unified, free, democratic Korea; and the ultimate one is to punish the aggressors to such an extent that they will be forced to abandon their hope of world conquest. This is the only means of avoiding another world war.

In the language of diplomacy, this statement lays down the main "policy line" which is explained, elaborated, and justified in many of the speeches in this booklet. A secondary "policy line" which these speeches develop was contained in a statement issued by Pyun Yung Tai, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on February 21, 1951: "The Communist world is monolithic. No part of the Communist world can be neutral so long as any part of it is belligerent. Poland or Czechoslovakia is no more neutral, therefore, than is Communist China. The confusion of thought that these countries are neutrals might easily lead to another confusion that Soviet Russia, the arch-aggressor in the Korean war, can pass as a neutral. The free world will have no honor left to claim, if it submits to all this sickening masquerade."

Although the truce conferences held originally at Kaesong and subsequently at Panmunjom were devised to attempt to settle the Korean war, the Republic of Korea has been represented only by an *observer*, and has had no part in determining directly the policies adopted by the United Nations truce team. For this reason, the program of the Republic of Korea has been set forth and supported in public speeches, with the avowed purpose of attempting to influence the course of the negotiations through appeals to world public opinion. This unusual situation has resulted in Korea oc-

cupying a curious position in relation not only to its Communist foe but also to its democratic Allies. This position can only be understood through careful analysis of the speeches herewith presented.

During this past year another important international question confronting Korea has been the problems involved in re-establishing relations with Japan. Japan ruled Korea from 1910 to 1945, and the future relationships of these two nations is of fundamental importance to each. Several speeches by Ambassador You Chan Yang, who represented Korea in the Korea-Japan Conference, held from October 22, 1951 until April, 1952, are included.

In all these addresses a leading characteristic is the frankness with which the Korean spokesmen appeal directly to the world (and particularly the American) public for understanding and support. This appeal to public opinion is a conscious and deliberate alternative to the opportunity to participate with full equality in the councils of the United Nations in which Korean affairs are discussed — an opportunity sharply restricted by the fact that the Republic of Korea has been restrained, by Soviet veto, from becoming a Member of that organization. For this reason these speeches depart very widely from the broad and vague generalities which commonly characterize the public addresses of official spokesmen discussing national policies.

Finally, it seems highly pertinent to quote a judgment expressed in the Introduction to the first volume of these speeches: "I believe it is impossible to read even this modest selection of speeches from the spokesmen of the Republic of Korea without realizing that the speakers are high-minded men, sincere, devoted, and deeply committed to democracy." This question becomes of special importance in view of the charges freely and widely circulated in June, 1952, that President Syngman Rhee was acting dictatorially in attempting to transfer the right of electing the President of Korea from the 183 Members of the Korean National Assembly to the seven million south Korean voters.

Ten years of intimate counselling with the men who determine and express Korean policies have given me a deep and abiding admiration for the spirit which animates them. Like all human beings they sometimes make mistakes and are prone to judge of world events perhaps too narrowly in terms of the needs of their own people. But I have never known another body of men to equal them in self-abnegation and dedication. And I believe history will show them to have been generally in the right.

Robert T. Oliver
State College, Penna.
June, 1952

The Urgent Need of Victory

Statement by President Syngman Rhee on March 1, 1952
Pusan, Korea

Exactly 33 years ago today March 1, 1919 thirty-three patriots signed and promulgated our Declaration of Independence. That spirit of independence took concrete form when the Republic of Korea was born in August, 1948. We are now engaged in a bitter war, attempting to secure and maintain that independence. But even more, we are also fighting in the vanguard of the world's democracies to guarantee the principle of collective security. We are fighting not only for ourselves and the independence of Korea but also against Communism, the enemy of democracy.

Fortunately, we are not alone in this great struggle. The nations of the free world under President Truman's magnificent leadership quickly recognized the global implications of the Communist attack and rushed to our aid. Together we have stemmed the tide of aggression and destroyed the Communist claim of invincibility. With the material aid and manpower of the United Nations forces, we are winning the war. We shall forever remember the gallant contributions of the world's democracies towards the ultimate victory of our common cause.

But still, 800,000 Chinese Communists remain entrenched on Korean soil. And still this country is not yet re-united. And still the aggressor remains unpunished for his crime against humanity and civilization. These things are true, not because we lack the will or the power to drive the enemy out, but rather because some nations that are sympathetic towards Communism and some nations which are afraid of Soviet power are frantically trying to bring this war to a stalemate at any cost.

As the people who have suffered most by this war, we naturally appreciate the efforts to avoid a global war. Some of the world leaders see the possibility of bringing about world peace through appeasement. But at the same time, Korea is struggling for its own survival. We do not believe that we can survive as a nation with nearly a million Chinese enemies encamped on our peninsula. To accede to these conditions would be to forfeit the life of our nation.

More than seven months of double-talk during the cease-fire negotiations have given the Communists an opportunity to consolidate their position on land and strengthen their air forces. During the same time, we have not moved a single step closer toward re-unifying Korea, punishing the aggressor, or ensuring the principle of collective security. Unfortunately, what is not generally realized is that an actual real peace in a united, independent Korea would free some 350,000 American and Allied forces to be available to interfere with Soviet plans of expansion elsewhere; but, contrarily, an uncertain, vague armistice in a divided Korea would pin down United Nations forces indefinitely.

We started out to fight in defense of our nation, we made our decision quickly and irrevocably to fight to the end — either to

unity and independence or to total destruction and death. That same determination still persists and is shared by all our people. We want all our friends and our enemies alike to know that we must be permitted to utilize every possible means to survive as an independent, unified, democratic nation — even if we have to carry on the struggle alone.

A decisive, clear-cut victory is urgently needed here in this war-torn peninsula. We ask our comrades-in-arms to assist us by helping us build up our defensive forces. We have at present over two million youths of conscription age who are ready and willing to step into the battle-lines to save their homes, their cities, their nation and their freedom. This vast reservoir of manpower requires intensive training, equipment and logistical support. Properly equipped and supported, these Korean youths could be made equal to any other nation's fighting force. Many of our friendly observers have high praise for the Korean troops already trained under the competent direction of General Van Fleet. If America helps us build up this vast potential force, there will be no need for American war-mothers to be concerned about their boys, because they will not have to fight in Korea. We do not ask all the nations to remain here to fight indefinitely for our security alone. We are grateful to them for their past and present contributions; but the United Nations should not and must not expect us to accept a national sentence of death.

And I want our friends to know that our defense forces, if built into a strong, effective fighting organization, will gladly answer the call to serve under the UN banner wherever and whenever they are needed in fighting our common enemies, the Communists. As our friendly nations have come to help us in our great hour of need, we shall be more than willing to show our appreciation and gratitude by making every effort to reciprocate their service and sacrifice to establish collective security for all the free nations of the world.

To check the possibility of another world war and to establish a world peace, the global leaders of today need to display more courage and less fear to those red enemies of civilization and world order. The Communists have showed their determination boldly. They intend to continue their march of conquest at any cost, regardless of a world war developing. If we show any sign of weakness now by satisfying their insatiable demands with concession after concession, the world Communists will interpret our actions as weakness and cowardice. That will bring world war closer and the disaster will be much greater. World peace can be achieved only by convincing the real war-makers that it is impossible to conquer the free nations. This can be achieved by rallying now and enrolling all the anti-Communist elements everywhere in the world in a great crusade behind the banners of democracy to fight for the common cause of freedom and security.

The cease-fire talks have lowered the esteem of the democracies in the eyes of many of the peoples of the world. It is now in the best interest of humanity, democracy, and Christian civilization to take a firm stand and tell the world Communists that they have mis-

calculated, and that the free world is still determined, strong, and unwavering. There can be no real peace until the red imperialists are convinced that we are far more willing to die fighting than to surrender ignobly.

There is a passage in our Declaration of Independence of March 1st, 1919, which rings just as true today as it did 33 years ago. I conclude by quoting it: "We hereby proclaim that Korea is an independent nation and that the Koreans are a self-governing people. We do so to all the nations of the world that the great cause of human equality may be entrenched. We do so to our posterity for all ages to come that they may everlastingly enjoy the rightful blessing of national independence."

Behind the Puppet Show

Tape-recorded address of President Syngman Rhee of the Republic of Korea to the Annual Conference of Mayors, the Waldorf-Astoria, May 16, 1952.

It was most gracious of you to invite my participation in your program — and especially generous on your part to make all these necessary arrangements in view of the fact that the pressure of events has not permitted me to be physically present.

I wish indeed that we might all sit down together and engage in the warmly human process of speaking and reasoning together about the world problems which came into focus with the Communist attack upon our land. I am sure we should be able to penetrate behind the puppet show of shadow negotiations to lay bare the real issues which underlie this tragic and vital conflict.

As you and I read each day the reports on the truce talks that are now in their tenth month, I am confident the same thought enters our minds. This thought is a profound conviction that if the enemy desired a durable peace — a peace, that is, based upon simple justice and promising lasting security — the talks could have been concluded in half as many days as they now have lasted months.

Why Proposal Was Made

When the proposal for a truce was first presented, the Communist invaders were reeling from a series of successive defeats which had undermined their power as a fighting force. The talks saved them from immediate defeat and gave them the opportunity they have used so well to build new strength. The military situation in which the talks began was not the same as it is today. Yet strong as the foe has become, we fear him no more today than we did ten months ago. For as he has become stronger, so have we. By negotiating in bad faith and with typical Communist delaying tactics, the aggressor has rebuilt his shattered army of invasion. But during this same interval, under the inspired and courageous leadership of General James A. Van Fleet, the Republic of Korea Armed Forces have for the first time secured adequate training and equip-

ment. And the United Nations forces with which we stand have similarly nursed and developed their strength.

Obviously one purpose of the Communist phony peace offer was to undermine the morale and the fighting effectiveness of the protective forces which stood in their path of aggression. In this purpose they have failed. Strong as they have become behind their shield of the white flag of truce, we are ready for them now as we were before. For them a renewal of the fighting would be a repetition of the same bloody slaughter they have already had to endure. And this they know.

But their purpose in falsely proposing a truce was more diplomatic than military. They hoped by delay and vacillation to undermine the courage and the union of the world alliance of freedom which was formed to stem their forward march of imperialism. It is up to all the nations of the free world to convince them that in this design, too, they have miserably failed.

Communist World Monolithic

I trust it is not necessary for me to point out that the Communist world is monolithic. Its leadership, its program of aggression and its power for evil are all controlled from the Kremlin. A single small band of totalitarian schemers determines the policies and dictates the strategies by which aggression, subversion, and internal revolution are executed by subservient minions in all parts of the world. The Politburo is the control center from which are dictated revolts and aggressions in Asia, threats and seizures in Europe and organized subversive Communist programs on every continent and in practically every nation of the world.

This centralized and monolithic power has frankly avowed its evil design of overthrowing freedom wherever it exists. Proclaiming a classless society that recognizes no national boundaries, the masters of Soviet Russia have dedicated their lives to creating dissent and chaos in every part of the world and to organizing that dissatisfaction into a gigantic conspiracy to fasten totalitarian Communism upon all mankind.

This is the challenge which the free world must confront. It will do us no good to pretend that the danger is something different or something less. President Truman was first among the leaders of the free world in defining the danger and in devising a program adequate to meet it when he set forth the Truman Doctrine of containment in 1947. With all the strength and determination which we drew from our own devotion to democracy, we showed our own allegiance to this program for freedom when we resisted the aggression that was so basely directed against us in 1950. And the United Nations responded with clarity of vision when fifty-three free nations of the world endorsed our cause and dedicated themselves to the proposition that aggression must not be allowed to succeed.

Here in Korea a terrible price has been paid to uphold that ideal of freedom. More than one hundred and seven thousand of your own American boys have become heroic casualties to help keep mankind free. Among our own people, more than a million have

been lost. Another eight million are homeless. And our beloved country has endured a holocaust of destruction such as no nation ever before in history has been forced to endure. And still no real solution is yet in sight.

It is too much for any of us to expect that the Communist design of imperialism would be viewed alike from all parts of the free world. The democracies are not one monolithic power, as is the Communist world. Free nations and free peoples have not achieved the same kind of unity which, on the other side, is dictated from the Kremlin. Our fundamental unity is obscured by surface divisions and the argumentation which is part of the democratic process. Never in all history have free people fully joined in a common program or fully yielded themselves to a common leadership until after a massive attack has been launched upon them all.

Surrender or Fight

It is this natural tendency of diversity in freedom from which the imperialist planners of Communist aggression draw their greatest hope. Knowing full well how precious is the democratic regard for independence and peace, they are hopeful that they can keep the free world divided, and continue to undermine it one at a time.

They know, and we should not forget, that particular acts of aggression will be viewed differently by free peoples whose own situations differ widely. Specifically, there are three kinds of situations from which Soviet aggression may be viewed.

There are, first, the nations which are directly attacked, either by external force or through internal subversion. In these nations the crisis comes forcefully to a head, and the decision may either be to surrender in the face of hopeless odds—as happened in China and Czechoslovakia—or to fight back, however desperately, as we have done in Korea.

Secondly, there are nations in Western Europe, in the Middle East and in southern Asia which are not yet attacked but know that they may be when a suitable occasion offers. In such exposed but still precariously secure regions, the natural temptation is to seek by every means to hold off the threatened danger as long as possible. Some of these nations turn toward neutralism and others attempt to buy time at whatever cost to build defenses.

Finally, across the wide oceans are yet other peoples who see the danger creeping like a paralytic stroke across the free world yet nurture the hope that they, themselves, may not soon and just possibly may never be undermined. In this area of comparative immediate security, two divergent policies have found voice. Some advise the creation of a Gibraltar of security. And others counsel bold action to stop aggression in its tracks before the power of totalitarian imperialism has fastened its frightful tentacles upon all the land and peoples within its immediate reach.

We should not be surprised that different policies should be examined and considered within the great alliance of the free world. The great debate which still continues among the democratic peoples is a natural outgrowth of the democratic process. Peoples who are

differently situated, so long as they yet retain the power of independent decision, cannot be expected to unite easily or wholly in a single common policy. This divergence is a natural consequence of the very freedom we hold so precious and for which we shall endure any ultimate penalty to maintain.

"Divide and Conquer"

Yet we must not blind ourselves to the advantage the enemy hopes to derive from this very insistence upon the liberty of independent judgment. "Divide and conquer" is the oldest and truest motto of imperialist aggressors. The schemers in the Kremlin obviously hope that free peoples will not rise to repel any specific aggression until after it has become too immediate and overwhelming to be met successfully. This is the basis for their successes in the past and it is all too evident that it is their continuing hope for the future.

We in Korea cannot help but interpret the threat of Communist imperialism as it appears from our own situation. We had to endure the division of our nation when it took place as part of the mistaken belief of the democracies that Russia could be trusted to solve world problems in a spirit of honest negotiation. We observed from close hand the successful manoeuvres of the Communist monolithic empire to seize and incorporate the great area and manpower of China. And we have felt the full horror of the armed onslaught against our own land. We cannot believe that a compromise with aggression here will have any effect except to encourage its repetition and extension elsewhere.

We believe there is no real compromise possible between the alternatives of permitting Communist aggression to succeed or of hurling it back from our invaded country in defeat. If an army of nine hundred thousand Chinese Communist aggressors is permitted to remain in northern Korea, where none at all existed eighteen months ago, we believe that fact will be interpreted on both sides of the Iron Curtain as a Communist success. We fear it will encourage the leaders of Communism to extend their programs of subversion and revolution into other lands. We think there is already evidence to show that the captive peoples under the Communist yoke have been impressed more deeply with the myth of the invincibility of their masters' program of world conquest. And we see already spreading through the periphery of the endangered areas around the Soviet empire a growing uneasiness and unrest which threatens the existence of their anti-Communist governments.

Thus far I have been discussing with you the possible consequences of a truce when examined from the viewpoint of the security of all the free nations. Now may I look at this same truce from the viewpoint of the people of Korea. What will the consequences of this truce be to my country?

Some Questions

First, may I ask you to think about the fate of seven million human beings who live in the north. They have risked their lives to

fight the Reds. They have lived by the hope that the United Nations will in the end defeat the Communists and drive these aggressors from Korean homes and cities. But what now do they see? The defeat of the North Korean Communists? No! Instead they see nearly a million Chinese Reds destroying their lives by wholesale massacres and mass-starvation. In the absence of military victory for which they lived and suffered, they have two fateful choices — either to die or to accept Communism. If they choose to live by accepting Communism, they will be indoctrinated into its militant dogmas. Once they embrace the Soviet ideology, how, when, and by whom, I ask you, will they be converted back to the ideals of democracy? Have not then more millions of people been added against their will to the Communist world? By what method and under what assurance of security are we of the Republic of Korea to unify these communized Koreans in the north, strengthened as they are by the addition of the Chinese, with the anti-Communist Koreans in the South?

Second, may I ask you to think about the division of our peninsula into two conflicting camps — into Communism in the north and Democracy in the south. From the first this division was illegal. The responsibility for it lies only with the United States and the Soviet Union. If the Panmunjom peace is accepted, it will by international agreement legalize the division which in the first place was illegal. **It will make north Korea a part of red China!** How, when, and by whom, may I ask, shall we expect through peaceful means to expel the Chinese from Korean soil?

Yet we Koreans are told that a peace of some kind must be achieved at Panmunjom. We are told that we must co-operate in the program. And surely we do not wish to be uncooperative. At least out of gratitude for the aid which the United States has given to us, we feel that we must support the peace program of the United States. At the same time, however, we know that only a comprehensive and adequately implemented regional pact can really guarantee the peace of the Pacific. To insure that peace Korea has proposed to your government the necessity for that kind of agreement — a pact like that signed by the United States with Australia and New Zealand, a pact like that signed by the United States with the Philippines, a pact like that signed by the United States with Japan. I ask you to be under no illusion about this agreement. If such an agreement is not promptly arranged, the whole Pacific area will fall before the further aggression of the Communists. Korea is the great divide in the struggle for the free world. If the Soviet imperialism is not stopped here now, Communism will add more vast and strategic areas to its empire and put more millions of human beings under its domination.

What Korea Wants

In this decisive struggle for the free world, Korea wants to make its greatest contribution. We know Communism at first hand. On Korean soil the United Nations took their first historic collective security action. To enable Korea to play its role in this moment I have proposed as a part of our request for a security agreement

between the United States and Korea, a program by which the armed forces of the Republic of Korea will be adequately strengthened and logically supported to an extent at least equal to the armed forces of Japan.

This two-fold proposal — for an agreement of security with the Republic of Korea and the necessary strengthening of its armed forces — will save the taxpayers of America money. It will also save your boys from fighting in Korea. By the contribution of a gun you may save a son. Without provision for these two basic guarantees for the implementation of security, any truce, no matter how favorable it may turn out to be, will leave the future of Korea in jeopardy and threaten the hopes of the whole Far East.

No people have greater need for peace or more reason to hate war than have we here in Korea. Yet we do not wish to delude ourselves into thinking we are securing peace when in reality we should merely be bowing down in the face of Communist threat. We know that when the enemy is cruel, ruthless, and determined, peace cannot be won except by a superiority of courageous determination on our part. History clearly shows that aggression is magnified and extended by every full or partial success. The only hope of avoiding large scale aggressions lies in defeating them decisively while yet they are small.

The United Nations bravely and clearly recognized the full meaning of the attack against us in 1950. They demanded the reunification of all Korea and denounced the Chinese invaders as aggressors. This was a proper assessment of what had to be done in Korea to maintain the collective security of the free world. It remains the task that confronts us today. World peace may still be found in boldness and strength of purpose. It can never be found in vacillation and compromise. What was recognized so clearly in 1950 should not be forgotten in 1952. The safeguarding of world security and freedom is far too precious to be abandoned through counsels of despair. Let us hold fast till the goal is won.

Witnesses for One Free World

Remarks of President Syngman Rhee at the United Nations Cemetery in Pusan on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Korean action, June 25, 1952.

We are here today as witnesses for one, free world. By the waters of the Pacific on Korean soil we bow our hearts in gratitude for the selfless faith which makes this site a historic shrine in the history of the civilized world. As partners with the other United Nations our common crusade is to establish a law-governed world which can assure people of the right to enjoy life without the constant threat of external aggression.

About us lie the human symbols of the world we all are determined to bring into being — the kind of world we want our

children to live in. While each nation, according to its own custom, cares for those who have fallen in the struggle — some interred on native soil, some on Korean soil — the ceremony today pays respect to those men of supreme courage who have cast their lives in the balance at this decisive moment to make the world fit to live in.

Lives given in Korea are the costs of building this law-governed world which is our common goal. In this struggle Korea and Koreans have suffered unprecedented tragedy. Today we give humble thanks to God that with the strength and support of the free world in a partnership in effort, our tragedy becomes the birthplace and the opportunity for a new kind of world — a world of strength undergirding freedom with justice for men.

The task begun in Korea will be completed here and on other free-world fronts in other sections of the globe. Here to our peninsula came the first sustained physical combat with Soviet imperialism. Here we of the United Nations have made our first determined resistance. And here we shall triumph to establish a free, united, prosperous nation with government for, by, and of the people. With strength in victory Korea will contribute its men and experience to assist other neighbors in the United Nations, should lawless aggression again occur. Only by collective action can individual sovereignty be safeguarded. Only by a collective security agreement in the Far East as a regional unit within the system of the United Nations can the gains made in Korea be held and assured.

In the immortal spirit of the men who surround us, I thank the great Creator of mankind that we in our generation have been accorded the privilege of adding a keystone to the arch of civilization.

Our Plan for Redemption

Ambassador John Myun Chang at Washington's Town Meeting,
November 20, 1950.

The situation in Korea is an exceedingly grave threat to the peace and security of the world. This has been true through all of the past five years, since it first became apparent in the fall of 1945 that the Soviet Union did not intend to abide by its solemn agreement to withdraw from northern Korea, following the surrender of the Japanese troops, and permit the peaceable reunification and establishment of an independent Government in my country. The gravity of the situation burst upon the entire world with tragic clarity and intensity five months ago, when the vicious Communist attack of June 25 was launched upon the Republic of Korea. But the full extent of the danger and potential disaster of the fighting between the forces of the Communist Empire and the free world, which was precipitated with ruthless cynicism in my homeland, did not become fully apparent until three weeks ago, when considerable forces of organized Chinese Communist troops were rushed across the Yalu River to stem the victorious advance of the United Nations and Republic of Korea troops.

The nations of the free world are now confronted with a challenge which for five years we have sought by every means in our power to avoid. We are still seeking every possible honorable and acceptable means of avoiding this challenge and of maintaining the peace. Because of the unspeakable horror of a third world war, we who represent the free nations of the world have not presented any ultimatums to the Soviet Union to abide by the post-war agreements which were made in the hope of establishing a lasting structure of international cooperation. Speaking as one who has sat in anxious attendance at the United Nations during these past three uneasy years, I can assure you that the spokesmen for the democratic nations have patiently and with great forebearance explored every possible pathway of mutual agreement that might lead to peace. It is not my function this evening, however, to discuss the broad context of the worldwide tensions which have split the nations of the world into two camps. It is, rather, my purpose to discuss with you the specific circumstances affecting my own country which led to the outbreak of hostilities between the Communist Empire and the free world. Even at the risk of discussing facts which are already known, I shall trace the course of past events, and shall also analyze aspects of the present conditions which have a most direct bearing upon decisions to be made for the future.

If the history of the Far East had been carefully studied and fully understood in the Western World, some of the problems of the present might have been anticipated and avoided. The strategic relations of Korea to its three powerful neighbors in North Asia have made my country a buffer state separating Siberian Russia, China, and Japan. In all the four thousand year history of that part of the world, Korea has never been an aggressive power. Our 85,000-square mile peninsula has contained all the resources our people have needed and we have sought to live peacefully within our own borders. However, there are two dangerous factors in our location over which we have had no control. In relation to our three neighboring states, we have been militarily weak. And our strategic peninsula has been so located that each of these neighbors has viewed our homeland as either an avenue of an attack upon the others, or as an indispensable buffer for its own defense. For these reasons it has not been our fate to be permitted to live at peace.

Following the penetration of the West into northern Asia in the last half of the nineteenth century, two of these neighbors, Russia and Japan, eyed Korea with aggressive intent. The sparring of Russia and Japan for control came to a head in the War of 1904-1905, and following that struggle Korea became the innocent and helpless victim of Japanese imperialism. Japan first built up a network of military transportation in Korea, then marched on to the conquest of Manchuria and its subsequent attack upon the rest of China. During this whole period of Japanese occupation of our homeland, we Koreans struggled for the restoration of our freedom. Our leaders warned the West of Japan's intentions. In 1919 we organized a peaceful nation-wide demonstration of our will for independence, hoping to arouse an understanding in the statesmen of the

West of the great need for re-establishing an independent Korean nation as the keystone of peace in the Orient. This effort failed and the terrible results which we had foretold came to pass.

During the whole course of World War II, the leaders of the Korean independence movement sought to gain acceptance by the Allied Powers as a co-belligerent, so that the independent status of our nation would be clearly established. Instead, the problem of Korea was postponed for later decision. When the war ended we discovered that the defeat of our Japanese oppressors resulted in the tragic division of our homeland, with our nation converted into an area of dangerous and direct disagreement between the forces of the free world and the Communist Empire. The United States, the United Kingdom, and China would gladly have withdrawn and permitted the prompt establishment of a fully independent Republic of Korea. The Soviet Union, however, having once got its troops of occupation into northern Korea, had no intention of relinquishing this valuable strategic area. For two years the United States attempted to solve this problem by direct negotiation with the Soviet Union, but Russia would accept no solution except one that would have established a Communist puppet regime in control of the entire Korean peninsula. Finally, on September 17, 1947, the American Secretary of State, General George C. Marshall, placed the question before the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The United Nations, as you know, sought to unite all Korea and to sponsor a free election for the re-united nation which would have given to the thirty millions of Koreans a government of their own choice. When once again the Soviet Union refused to agree to withdraw its troops and its control over north Korea, an election was held south of the 38th parallel, and on August 15, 1948 the Republic of Korea was inaugurated.

Ladies and gentlemen, all these negotiations relating to the disposition of the Korean question were troublesome and a cause of deep concern to the free nations of the world. To the people of Korea, this period has been a time of deepest tragedy. The division of our homeland was a violation of our social, political, and economic unity which had been tested and affirmed for many centuries. Since the Silla dynasty had unified all Korea 57 years before the birth of Christ, our nation had never been divided. We have had our own language, our own customs, our own culture, our own historic traditions, and our own unified aspirations. Politically we have had our own system of local self-government in our villages, all bound together through our provincial governments and bound into one inseparable unity through our national capital and national Government. And economically, Nature itself seemingly intended the mountain and sea-girt Korean peninsula to be one and indivisible, for the mineral, coal, and hydro-electric power resources of the north supplemented the fruitful agricultural valleys of the south. The division of the past five years was a wholly artificial, unnatural, and foreign-imposed division, which had no roots in Korean history, no reason in Korean life, and no meaning to Korean minds.

Many times I have heard the question raised of why the Korean

people of the north were induced to make so savage an attack upon their own brethren in the south. This very question reveals a deep misunderstanding of the tragedy which was unloosed upon our people. The fighting of the past five months has not been in any sense a civil war. It has been a foreign war of conquest, in which the imprisoned and helpless ten million Koreans in the north were forced to be unwilling participants of the attack upon the south. The army of Communists who launched the attack of June 25 was never more than around 300,000 men. Most of these were Communist troops who had been brought back to northern Korea by their foreign masters. Some of them had fought in the Soviet Army during World War II; others had fought with the Communist Eighth Route Army in China. Their members were drawn from the more than two million Koreans who had fled during the past generation into Siberia and northern China, to escape Japanese tyranny, and there had become integrated into the Communist communities. When this crust of expatriate Communist forces had been crushed, northern Korea no longer offered any obstacle to the advance of the troops of the United Nations and the Republic of Korea.

The common people of northern Korea are not now and have not been our enemies. They welcomed our soldiers as a liberating army. Our Government has always known of their basic loyalty, and has counted upon it as the basic hope for the peaceable re-unification of our nation. We have never wavered from the faith that the people of the north would at any time, if they had been allowed their own free will, have gladly and eagerly re-united themselves with their southern brothers, under the democratic Republic of Korea. The fact that the Soviet Union would never permit the United Nations to sponsor a free election in north Korea is sufficient evidence that the Communists also recognized this to be true.

In the minds and hearts of the Korean people, "north" and "south" are terms that have no meaning. We are one people now, as we have been for centuries. All that we ask now is the chance to re-establish through our own Government and in our own way this great inescapable historic fact.

Certain mischievous or uninformed people are attempting to picture a breach between the Republic of Korea and the United Nations. There has been a great deal of loose talk abroad about disagreements and misunderstanding between my Government and the United Nations — talk which is both false and dangerous. As a matter of fact, the relationships between the Republic of Korea and the United Nations are as close and congenial as they possibly could be. There is no other nation in the world which is so directly a part of the great United Nations organization.

It was through the U. N. that the impasse over Korea between the United States and the Soviet Union was broken. It was the U. N. which took the courageous step of calling for the formation of an independent Korea. It was under U. N. observation and with U. N. approval that the Republic of Korea was established. Ever since the inauguration of our Government, a United Nations Commission has been in our midst. At every session of the United Nations since

the fall of 1947, the Korean question has been an important part of U. N. business. The establishment of our free and democratic Government was one of the greatest concrete accomplishments of the U. N. And when the attack upon our country was launched, the United Nations found in that attack the first field for its direct and specific operation as an agency for collective action against brutal and ruthless aggression.

We Koreans are proud of our relations with the United Nations. We feel ourselves frontline allies of all peoples, in every part of the world, who value freedom and refuse to yield it to threats of totalitarian power. Ours is not the only country which has stood on the frontier of the battleline in the five frightening years of the Cold War. But ours is the outstanding example of a nation which refused to seek safety for itself through surrender. The pressures against us were enormous. Our economy could not be restored, while the dividing line of the 38th parallel remained. The iron curtain across the middle of our nation separated families and formed a deep and hateful cleavage through the very middle of our social and cultural heritage. Across that line guerrilla forces descended time after time to attack our innocent people, to burn our homes and to murder our citizens. Every attempt within the enemy's power was made to turn our people against their own chosen Government and to stir up revolution within the south. Traitors insinuated themselves into our schools, and into our very Government. When our police attempted to eliminate these traitors, Communist propaganda cited these efforts of self-defense as evidence of a police state. Some of our friends abroad were seriously misled by these propaganda attacks and began to question the integrity of our Government. But the people of Korea never wavered. They understood the nature of the danger which we faced. They endured the hardships of the division and of the constant attacks which were launched against us. They closed ranks against the Communist foe, and through the loyal cooperation of the farmers in our villages, the last bands of guerrillas in our mountainous territory were wiped out.

Through all of these perilous times the United Nations remained by our side, as an understanding friend. The United States, with a generosity and understanding befitting its great role in international affairs, lent its strength and advice to help us solve the problems imposed by the 38th parallel division. Through the help of military aid and advice from the United States, we were enabled to build a constabulary force sufficient to deal with localized guerrilla raids. With American economic aid, our agricultural fields were restored to fertility and our factories in the south made tremendous progress toward self-sufficiency.

One of the chief economic problems in all Korea was the problem of farm tenancy. In the north the Communist regime moved swiftly to liquidate the seven per cent of the population which owned the farm lands, and then gave the farmers a false form of "reform" by making them "tenants of the State." In the south our handling of this problem was slower, because we strove to solve it

in lasting fashion, by means that would be fair to all. Our National Assembly debated the problem of farm tenantry, studied it carefully, and evolved a solution by which ninety per cent of all tenant farmers could buy the lands they cultivated for some thirty per cent of the annual crop, payable each year over a period of five years. This program was enacted into law, was signed by President Syngman Rhee, and went into effect on June 1, 1950.

I think all the facts indicate that the Communist Empire launched its cynical and ruthless attack against the Republic of Korea for two reasons. The first reason is the strategic value of the peninsula of Korea, which would have made our country a spring-board for further aggressive Communist advances in the Pacific area. The second reason is that the Republic of Korea was too successful democratically to be subverted from within. Every effort to destroy our Government by internal strife failed completely, so the Communist master strategists decided to undertake the dangerous adventure of direct military attack.

Both of these reasons are revealing as to the role played by the people of Korea. We are proud to have maintained what Paul Hoffman, Director of the ECA, called "a bastion of democracy in Asia." We were eager to develop democratic processes for ourselves, for we are deeply convinced that the democratic form of government is the only form which brings the full benefits of organized, peaceful human society to all the people. And we were also fully aware of the unique opportunity which was ours to prove to all the world that democracy is just as adaptable to an Oriental society and among an Oriental people as it is among the peoples of the West. In this endeavor, we believe that we were and still are rendering a service, within the limitations of our means, to the cause of world-wide democracy and freedom. Similarly, it has always been a cardinal principle of our faith that when we stood resolutely against Communist attacks and threats, we were holding a line of freedom not only for ourselves, but for our friends and allies in every part of the world where freedom is valued. Our morale was high in spite of the great danger in which we lived, for the very reason that we felt ourselves to be a part and parcel of the great global army of the free. Our post was one of special danger. Our position was on the uneasy and fearful front line of the world division between democracy and Communism. But it never occurred to us that we were cut off from the great body of freedom which stretched so grandly and so formidably through all the areas of liberty around the globe.

When the attack was launched upon us, our faith in the deep union of freedom was proved to be sound. The war has been fought on our homeland. Our cities and villages, our industries and railroads, have felt the awful devastating blows of war. Some three millions of our people have been driven from their homes, and face the dread cold of winter without houses or adequate clothing. Our casualties are numbered in the scores of thousands. Our soldiers faced the first terrible onslaught of the foe and fell by the thousands because they had no weapons in their hands. And when help came

to us, our people rallied with a deep sense of thanksgiving and relief. Our army was rapidly expanded. Our soldiers learned quickly to use the new weapons which were brought to them from the great arsenal of freedom in the United States. And as the advance back up the peninsula has replaced the terrible agony of the first weeks of continual retreat, our soldiers have been proud to fight side by side against the Communist foe with the brave and splendid troops of the United Nations.

In all the trials and struggles of diplomacy and of war, the people of Korea have worked with and through the United Nations, confident that the goal toward which we all are moving is for the mutual advantage of all peoples everywhere who desire to live in security and peace, based on justice and brotherhood.

With all this commonality of understanding and effort, however, there have always been disruptive efforts made by those who profit from disunity to emphasize and exaggerate the differences which sometimes arise concerning the methods for achieving the desired results. As I understand it, the whole process of democratic decision is one of discussion and mutual consideration. It is only under totalitarian dictatorships that perfect agreement — or at least the surface appearance of agreement — is to be found. We Koreans have never thought that our function in dealing with the United Nations was merely to stand passively at one side, waiting to be told just what we should do. Korea is our own homeland. It has been ours for four thousand years. We trust it will be the home of our children for many generations to come. We believe that we ourselves understand the conditions in our own country and we feel that we should be lax in our duty to ourselves and to our friends in the United Nations if we do not press our own opinions forward into the discussion of measures to be taken regarding our own nation.

Surprisingly enough, whenever we do this we hear strange outcries from certain segments of the foreign press, both here in the United States and in Europe, accusing us of lack of cooperation. This outcry became especially vehement in regard to the arrangements that should be made regarding the liberated areas of north Korea. It has always been the simple assumption of my Government that when northern Korea was liberated it would be brought directly and immediately under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Korea. This was the assumption upon which our Government was formed. It was the basis of our Constitution. It was the reason why we formed a National Assembly of 300 seats, with 100 of them reserved to be filled by elections in the north just as soon as the people there could be granted the right to vote freely under United Nations observation.

Fully mindful of the basic historic unity of our nation, we have never considered that the Republic of Korea was established as a measure of division. This very question was fully and carefully debated in the United Nations before our first elections, of May 10, 1948, were held. The opinion was then expressed by representatives of the Korean people, and also by many delegates to the United

Nations, that the Republic of Korea would form the basic government of the nation, around which the loyalties of all the people, both north and south, could and would rally. It did not occur to us that there would ever be a great divergence of opinion among the free nations of the world on this point. Twenty-nine nations of the world have, in fact, recognized the Republic of Korea as the *de jure* government in our land. And the United Nations itself has approved the Republic of Korea as "the only lawful government" in Korea.

To the United Nations and to us Koreans the 38th parallel has been simply an illegal line maintained by foreign power against the will of the people. As soon as liberating troops crossed that line, we hopefully took it for granted that the line had ceased to exist. We did not believe that the United Nations itself would re-establish the very hateful line which its armies were helping to destroy.

Yet in effect this is precisely what has happened. The United Nations Interim Committee on Korea has approved a plan under which the people and area of northern Korea would be governed not by "the only lawful government" in Korea; not by the government set up through elections observed and approved by the United Nations itself, but by the army of the United Nations. Two things in regard to this plan are immediately apparent to my Government, and we wish to make both of these clear, beyond any possibility of a doubt. The first is that we are fully confident this decision has been made in a spirit of honest good will; and the second thing is that we accept the decision in full accord with our customary determination to work in closest harmony with the United Nations.

However, it surely is not incumbent upon us to pretend to like what we do not like. And it certainly would be most unwise for us to conceal from our friends the reasons why we dislike the decision and why we still hope that it will shortly be changed,

The basic political situation in Korea is clearly — if, in our judgment, faultily — defined by the decisions in the United Nations. The jurisdiction of the Republic of Korea over all Korea is fully recognized. But under present plans, this jurisdiction cannot be exercised until after an election has been held in the north, to fill the 100 seats in the National Assembly which have been held open for that purpose. The difference of opinion may not appear to be great. All that is involved is the question of how the five northern provinces (or such portions of them as are liberated) shall be governed pending the holding of an election.

You are aware, I am sure, that my Government has been denounced in certain press editorials for "ingratitude to the United Nations," and for "unreasonable ambition" because of our announced belief that it would be far wiser to place north Korea immediately under the rule of the Republic of Korea, instead of providing for an interim period of military rule by the United Nations command. I am confident that a better understanding of the motives of my Government might not only alleviate this misunder-

standing but might also help to prevent similar misunderstandings in the future.

Why, then, does the Republic of Korea believe it would be far wiser to extend its jurisdiction immediately over the north, rather than to have an indefinite period of military rule by the U. N. I think the reasons are neither complex nor unreasonable.

In the first place, the arrangement proposed by the U. N. Interim Committee is in effect leading to a dangerous vacuum of political government in north Korea. The military forces are not equipped to take over the governmental functions. They were not forewarned and had no opportunity to make arrangements or to secure the necessary personnel. Hence a period of confusion has already occurred, and bids fair to continue for some time to come. During this period of confusion, Communist underground forces may easily and perhaps extensively be organized. This is a problem that we shall have to deal with for a long time to come and one that may prove to be troublesome in the extreme.

Another very deep concern of the Republic of Korea, is the continuance of the 38th parallel division across the middle of our country. This artificial barrier has already had tragic consequences. We do not want it continued a moment longer than is necessary. As a matter of fact, as soon as it was decided that the forces of liberation should proceed north of that line, we believed that the false and dangerous barrier had been broken down, once and for all. Greatly though our nation and our people have suffered from the struggle of the past five months, we felt that the elimination of this hateful dividing line was a goal worthy of the price that we have had to pay. I am sure I need not emphasize for you the feeling of dismay when we found that the 38th parallel is not, in fact, removed, but that under the auspices of the United Nations itself this line is still for an indeterminate time to be retained. So long as the Korean people on one side of that line are permitted to enjoy one kind of government — an independent democracy established through their own votes — and the Korean people on the other side of that line are restrained under a form of trusteeship, the deep and dangerous division running through our nation has not and cannot be healed. Instead it becomes even more than before a cause of grave concern and deep dissatisfaction. The easiest and most natural way to remedy such a problem as this is to eliminate it entirely by eliminating the dividing line itself.

There is a third reason why the Republic of Korea has expected and desired immediate jurisdiction over the northern provinces. This reason lies in the problems which permeate and perplex the population in the north. My Government has taken fullest cognizance of the fact that most of the people of northern Korea are wholly innocent of the attack that was launched against the Republic. They were held as unwilling captives of the Communist regime for five years, and they were unwilling participants or spectators of the assault which was launched by foreign direction against their own brethren in the south. These innocent people deserve not punishment but liberation. We wish to treat them as

we would any other rescued prisoners of war. However, dwelling in their midst are others who actively and evilly connived with the Communist enemy. There are some who for their own fancied advantage, or willingly subservient to a foreign master, helped to organize and perpetrate the attack against us. These traitors must be sought out and punished. They are cankers in the body of the State now, as they have been in the past. They remain a very serious source of danger and disturbance for the future. Yet the problem of distinguishing the guilty from the innocent is a matter of very careful discrimination. We doubt very seriously that this problem can be solved by a foreign military government, no matter how good its intentions may be. We believe this is a problem that can only be solved by the Korean people themselves. We believe it is highly fitting and proper that a problem of this character should be left to us. Yet it is a problem that cannot be postponed. Neither can it be solved, so long as the jurisdiction of the Republic of Korea is restricted by United Nations' decision to the south.

Finally, I should like to suggest perhaps the most fundamental reason of all why my Government has felt and still feels that our nation should at once be re-united under the lawful government which was established under the auspices of the United Nations. We Koreans face very realistically the very important problem of rejoining the severed parts of our nation. We have lived together as one united people for 4,000 years. We expect to live together for a great many generations in the future. It is very essential to the welfare of our people that all the artificial distinctions between north and south which have been set up during the past five years should be eradicated, immediately and completely. Some foreign powers have a deep-seated interest in maintaining that division as long as they can. No power on earth has as much motivation or determination to wipe out the division as has our own Republic of Korea. Because the problem is basically our own, and because it is so unquestionably important to us, we believe that its solution should be placed in our hands.

It has seemed worth while to me to make this very frank and detailed statement of the attitude of my Government on this crucial question because our position has been grossly misrepresented in sections of the foreign press. We do not wish to be misunderstood. We believe our position is clear, and we believe that when it is understood, it will be widely approved.

The problems of the future, of course, are not all political, important though these political questions are. There are social, and economic, and educational problems, as well. And above all there are human problems — the deep and significant problems of solving and alleviating human suffering, of wiping out so far as we can the sorrows and tragedies of war. Some two hundred and eighty thousand of our people have been killed or maimed in the fighting and devastation of the battles. From among these, over thirty thousand were deliberately murdered by the Communist bandits who captured them — an atrocious act of murder which was committed coldly, ruthlessly, and with clear intent to stamp out so far as the

Communists were able to do so the democratic leadership upon which our local government must depend. This sadistic act was a clear example of genocide, the most horrible and evil crime which the United Nations has been able to define. For these thousands of victims and for their sorrowing families, little can be done. They have paid the terrible price of innocent resistance to totalitarian attack.

Hundreds of our villages and many of our towns and cities have been completely destroyed, some of them in the tide of battle, and many more by deliberate action of the Communist armies, which were never satiated by their lust for destruction. A preliminary estimate which has already been completed indicates that some 75 per cent of all our mines and of all our textile factories in the south have been severely damaged or ruined. Twenty-five per cent of our metallurgical works and twenty per cent of our rubber goods factories have been destroyed. More than one third of all our railway locomotives and rolling stock have been wrecked, and virtually one hundred per cent of our motor transport has been ruined or taken away by the Communist forces. Our fisheries industry has been reduced from ten to thirty per cent by the destruction of boats and other equipment. Some seventy per cent of our cotton looms have been lost. Of our 300,000 spindles, only 68,000 are undamaged, and of our 9,000 looms, only 3,000 remain in usable form. These are grievous losses and their replacement will be a heavy burden which must be borne before our nation can rise again even to the insufficient level of economy it had achieved by last Spring.

The plight of our people is only dimly hinted in these figures which I have cited. From two to three millions of our people are without homes or shelter in the terribly cold weather which will be even more severe through the next three months. Most of these people lost all the clothing they possessed, except for the light summer clothes which they wore when they were forced to flee for their lives before the Communist attack. A relief program of gigantic proportions is needed instantly if these innocent victims are to survive. The plans are now being drawn, but the actual movement of supplies to the suffering people is tragically slow.

You can imagine the subsidiary problems that must be solved. Hundreds of thousands of houses have to be rebuilt. Schools have to be re-established. The magnitude of this task alone is indicated in the fact that every one of the five great colleges in Seoul has been wiped out. Railroad tracks and bridges have to be rebuilt. Street cars, busses, telephone service, water and sanitation facilities, all have to be restored or replaced. Total war has left widespread desolation in its wake, and a united effort is required before our people can once more struggle back onto their feet to carry forward our program of democratic and progressive advance.

Through all of these troubles, we people of Korea look toward the future with hope. We are conscious of the great role which our nation has played. The attack upon the Republic of Korea served as an alarm bell in the night to awaken the democratic world to the full measure of its peril. You have fought by our side,

and we have fought by yours. A bond of unity has been established greater and deeper than my people have ever had with the free peoples of the outside world. We feel confident that this bond will never weaken. We feel sure that in the years ahead, whatever trials may yet descend upon this tragically stricken world, the people of Korea will stand shoulder to shoulder, in full mutual understanding and respect, with all peoples everywhere who value democracy and the rights of man. We count upon your good will and we pledge ours to you. It is in this spirit that we look ahead.

A Plain Unwarranted Aggression

Address of Mr. B. C. Limb, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea, Before the Security Council of the United Nations, Lake Success, November 28, 1950.

The immediate past of the war in Korea is known to all. This very Security Council acted promptly and vigorously for the sake of justice and humanity when a wanton, unprovoked aggression was suddenly unleashed by the Communists against the Republic of Korea on June 25. Fifty-three of the 59 members states of the United Nations quickly responded to Korea's call for help. Under the inspiring leadership of the Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Forces, General Douglas MacArthur, the United Nations Forces beat back the invader.

A reunited Korea was in sight. The order of the United Nations to restore peace and security throughout Korea, was on the verge of fulfillment. Then, again suddenly, the Chinese Communist army, without provocation, without justification, wantonly invaded the soil of Korea! This massive Chinese Communist army, supplied with weapons of every description, chiefly from the arsenals of the International Communist heartland, was driven into this savage warfare against Korea, a friendly neighbor! Shells and bullets of this Chinese Communist army are at this very moment killing the men of the United Nations and the civilian population of my country. This is a plain, unwarranted aggression.

I point my finger at these representatives of the Chinese Communist regime, and I ask: Why do they come here with unclean hands?

I ask again: Why does this group come here with hands that drip with blood — the blood of the United Nations troops, the blood of the Korean people?

Sir, at this very hour, in northern Korea, the Chinese Communist invaders are killing Australians. They are killing Americans. They are killing Englishmen. They are killing Filipinos. They are killing Canadians. They are killing Netherlanders. They are killing Scotsmen. They are killing Irishmen. They are killing Thailanders. They are killing New Zealanders. They are killing Turks. They are killing Koreans. The Chinese Communists are killing the military

personnel of many another country of the United Nations who are fighting unprovoked, lawless aggression in Korea!

Mr. President, does history afford another instance which matches this grossest act of international crime? It does not, as far as my search of history proves.

The tragic phase of it all is this:

In the scores of centuries wherein Korea and China existed as neighbors, the Korean people never committed a solitary act of aggression against the Chinese people.

The Korean people have no enmity toward the Chinese people, even today.

The Korean people know, and they know at first hand — from the Chinese prisoners of war — that the Chinese people, just as were the people of northern Korea, are the dupes and pawns of the masters of International Communism. The leaders of Chinese Communists are but puppets and slaves of these masters. Chinese soldiers have not gone willingly into battle against the forces of the United Nations. They have been forced into battle by those masters.

Sir, after having witnessed the ruin, the devastation, the blood, the carnage which Communist aggression has visited upon my country, I marvel at the great honors, bordering upon reverence and adoration, with all the pomp and splendor, that the representatives of those Communists are receiving from some of the U. N. delegations. Sir, I believe in diplomatic amenities, when they are fair and equal to all, friend or foe. I cannot see, however, why the men whose soldiers are right now killing our own sons and brothers should be made heroes in the eyes of the world, with such great fanfare and chatter. Since when, Sir, have Chou En-lai's insolent telegrams become binding orders and instructions to this august body which must carry them out in servility and awe?

Your desire for world peace is evidenced by the mere presence here of this representation of the Chinese Communists.

Your desire for fairness and decency in international relations is further evidenced by your invitation that brought this group over from Peking.

Your willingness to listen to these people, to hear their alleged complaints, is even an added acknowledgement of how far the society of civilized nations will go in giving new hope to mankind for peace.

But, Gentlemen of the Security Council, I beg of you to recall the immediate past once more.

None of these desires or willingness I have just mentioned has ever found lodgement in the hearts or minds of the International Communists.

The "mission" they sent, without warning, into Korea, was an overpowering army, trained, equipped and directed by their alien masters.

There was no fairness or decency attached to that "mission". It came with planes, tanks and guns. It burns, loots, destroys, kills!

Callous brutality and atrocious mistreatment of the civilian population and prisoners of war are its ethics.

How many United Nations captives are being held today in Manchuria? Nobody knows! We can only pray to God that starvation and unattended illness may not be too rampant.

The row on row of white crosses, above which flies the blue flag of the United Nations, are mute evidence of Communist diplomacy! The pawns of the Communists, the Chinese soldiers, compelled to fight on Korean soil, are increasing those white crosses right now, while I am pronouncing these words, Sir.

I charge the Chinese Communist regime with criminal, wilful, wanton, unprovoked aggression upon the Republic of Korea.

I charge it with endangering the peace of the world.

I charge it with inviting the cataclysmic disaster to all mankind by its insane, immoral and monstrous conduct.

I demand that the Chinese Communist regime withdraw its troops from Korea forthwith.

I demand that it release the military and civilian prisoners of war.

The Chinese Communist regime knows that it need have no fear of an invasion of its territory by Korean troops or United Nations Forces. It knows full well that even this assurance is unnecessary to the great Chinese people.

Peace in the Orient, and peace in the world, are indivisible today. But they are also unattainable unless Communism halts its mad march of world conquest. It must be made to halt! This is the stern reality and warning of the hour.

Sirs, Korea will never molest any of her neighbors. At the same time, she will never yield even one inch of her sacred territory to any one for any purpose whatsoever. My people are determined to defend our land against any aggressor, with all the ferocity, resourcefulness and manpower, to the very last! For we saw and we know, that right always ultimately triumphs.

Not a Battered Tomb, But a Proud Monument

Foreign Minister Pyun, Yung Tai, at the fifth anniversary celebration of CARE, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, 12:30 p.m., May 9, 1951.

You all know that Korea has been unfortunately caught in the global conflict between the world-conquest-dreaming Communism and the survival-seeking democracy. She has been caught in the vortex of world disturbance, of violence and destruction, quite helpless and unprepared — unprepared except in her indomitable spirit and unwavering determination to die fighting on the side of human freedom. Sometimes I quite dispassionately ask: Had there existed no Korea, would this conflict have been averted? It would have broken out somewhere else, say, in Iran or in Vietnam or in Burma, or even in India. No matter where the aggression appeared, its nature would have been the same — of Communist

global conquest. Any meaningful action on the part of the free world to counteract an aggression of this nature must, therefore, be designed on a global level. No matter where it appears, the aggression must be met firmly and thoroughly with the total weight of the free world. Nothing should stand in our way to a swift and complete military victory. All military half-measures should be carefully eschewed, for they are bound to invite further aggression.

We Koreans do not pretend to understand the position so far taken either by England or by India. They look to us like a patient insisting on a "head-first" treatment when his hand has been invaded by germs of a deadly disease. We are now fighting England's as well as India's battle in Korea. If we are defeated, the struggle will be carried to their own homes. If we come out victorious, they will have no war at home.

The Soviet Union has deliberately chosen Asia as its first object of conquest. Its very first stroke has been deliberately planted on Korea, a long-coveted strategic point, from which naval operations can be launched to tear up the Pacific traffic of the free world and which will prove an ideal watch-tower to keep the whole Orient, including China and Japan, under the domineering glance of the Soviet Union.

To the cool, calculating mind of the Kremlin, the conquest of western Europe is unthinkable until the vast resources of Asia are consolidated under its domination. The conquest of Asia alone will condition the Kremlin to launch an all-out global conquest. The formula of remedy should appear to be: Balk the Kremlin in the attainment of this pre-requisite, and the dreaded thing will never come off. There is every reason that England, doing away with her local-mindedness, should send more troops to Korea now and that India, too, should start sending them. The weak-jointed dinosaur will recede before nothing but a drawn sword. In a vacuum of indecision alone, the Soviet balloon of threat will wax larger.

The level-headed Stalin knows that he lacks fuel oil, that he lacks such mobility as is known in the United States, and that he lacks even the loyalty of his own people and of those of his satellites. Above all, he is well aware that this time he will have to go without the American Lend-Lease, which played such a decisive role in his successful struggle against Germany. Nothing short of the fear of provoking the United States-led free world into a general war will stop the Stalinist aggression in Asia. That Iran is now confronted with somewhat the same situation as has developed in Korea may be said to be the direct result of the restricted and therefore indecisive military action in Korea.

Before I end this general survey of the world situation of which the present Korean war is a local manifestation, I should like to draw your attention to the fact that the one unchanging motive behind all the Soviet tactics of playing hot and cold, fast and loose, with the free world, getting it on crisis after crisis and letting it off as often at will, is, through a series of serious economic dislocations, to create within free nations situations where the Soviet Union can more easily take them over from within. My advice is,

therefore, this: Don't be let down this time; see that the international criminal does not get away unpunished this once, whatever happens.

Now I am coming to relief, at last. Except the few towns of considerable size, located in the area, which, from the beginning of the war, has never been harried by the enemy, and which, in area, is not more than one-thirtieth of entire Korea, most of the towns in the bulk of South Korea and the entire North Korea have been taken and retaken by both contending forces and a large number of them have been completely laid waste beyond recognition. Because the United Nations forces have been forbidden to cross the Manchurian border and blow up enemy supply centers, all they have been doing is to pound away to smithereens all buildings and houses that are likely to give shelter to the enemy. Except the few millions who either have remained protected behind the UN defense line or have been fortunate enough to filter through it from beyond, the bulk of the Korean people, rendered homeless and uprooted, as it were, out of the soil, wander like clouds over areas made desolate by war and vanish like clouds, exposed to hunger, cold, and man-made demolition. Just think of a full-fledged modern war of hitherto-unheard-of power of destruction again and again sweeping over such a narrow strip of land as Korea for the last ten months. Just think of scores of thousands of tons of high explosives smashing up nothing but Korea! Neither Germany nor Japan, war-torn as they were, can approach the present Korea in stark devastation. The Korean case, in which her Allies, in terms of practicalities, seem to have joined hands with her enemies in her own destruction, partly out of regard for her deadly foes, is something tragically unique and unparalleled in human history.

This bleak past lies unrelieved by any immediate bright future. This spring sowing season finds the bulk of agricultural soil untilled and unsowed for lack of work beasts or of farm laborers or of huts that shelter them, or even of seed.

The problems of relief thus posed by a nation-wide destruction and by an entire nation turned refugees are overwhelmingly. The United Command has been doing all that was humanly possible, but the number of refugees it reached and saved is a mere fraction of the masses who roam homeless and perish as they roam and who perish unseen and unsuccored in remote outlying places. The United Comand ought not to be expected to attempt relief to the extent of military insecurity. It cannot safely make an outlay sufficient to meet relief demands, either in personnel or in transportation or otherwise. The inexorable demands of military operations, to which the United Command is duty-bound to give priorities, are apt to make its hands too full for anything like adequate relief for civilians. The need has long been felt for fuller and more active cooperation of all available civilian relief agencies of the free world with the United Command and of creation of a far wider opening admitting these civilian agencies more freely into Korea. It is indeed gratifying that CARE plans to make a nation-wide appeal

for Korean relief and spearhead civilian relief activities for the suffering millions in Korea.

In view of the overtaxed military transportation, overtaxed even for military purposes alone, Korean relief, in order to be extensive and nation-wide penetrating, must be provided with a minimum transportation of its own, both land and sea. Under the circumstances, certain main arteries of land traffic and main harbor facilities are bound to remain exclusive to military purposes. But byways and small ports should be available for relief activities. The civilian relief personnel may need to be men of as much valor as combat teams, very probably of a higher order. They may be irked by the necessary screening exercised by the appropriate authorities. But I do not doubt that the American public when once roused to a very pressing need, will not fail, as it never did in the past, to rise to meet it like one man, sweeping every obstacle or inconvenience before it.

The Korean people are now undergoing a virtual genocide, which should not be unnecessarily complete. The present humanitarian movement you are now setting your hands to, if given momentum promptly enough, will save millions of Koreans who otherwise are doomed to perish. As the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea, I feel I must pay tribute also at this time to the American Red Cross, which so instantly responded to my President's plea for help soon after the invasion of June, 1950. I am gratified to learn that the American Relief for Korea Committee is actively engaged in this humanitarian effort to relieve the suffering of the Korean people. I will always remember you in my prayers that God may speed your worthy efforts to instantaneous fruition.

I started out to give you a general view of the Korean situation, and it may not be out of place here to suggest to you the outstanding needs other than that of relief. I will briefly enumerate four more needs without troubling you as to their order in importance.

Korea is badly in need of financial aid, distinct from economic aid, that will go to stabilize her now fast-crumbling finance. It is true that she has a balanced budget, but balanced on paper only. All sound budgets are based on assured national revenues. Almost all the Korean sources of revenue lie shattered and disrupted by the war. A complete measure of rehabilitation alone will restore them, but that is not forthcoming under the circumstances. What was opportunely done for Greece to bolster its finance must be done now for Korea.

Another need for Korea is more arms for the pending military expansion program. We do not object to rearming Japan, so long as Japanese are not brought over to Korea to fight in our place. To say the least, it will help Korean Communists strut as patriots fighting the age-long Korean enemy, and, at the same time, dishearten the ROK forces so as to lower their fighting morale. Nor do we relish the idea of having the Chinese Nationalist troops among the UN forces now fighting in Korea, for we know that they can be more profitably used elsewhere, when the occasion arises. What we

lack is arms, not manpower. It will be a grievance to Korea, if she is denied the chance of contributing more manpower to the cause of human freedom — the only contribution she can make as far as circumstances allow her now.

The third need is for technically training as many intelligent young Koreans as possible. In view of the fact that what scanty trained Korean personnel we had before have been mostly captured, killed or incapacitated during the present war, any long-range plan for Korea cannot overlook the crying need of an extensive training program, without which any rehabilitation of an enduring nature is impossible. It is wrong to keep them all in Korea. There are not arms enough to go around. Nor are there any munition factories to absorb their energies and make them contribute to war efforts. I personally do not see the sense of letting them rot by slamming upon them the door that leads them abroad for qualifying them for services of no less value to the nation than fighting. Anyway, they cannot all fight.

Compared with the thousands of Japanese receiving technical training in this country, there are an ever-dwindling number of Korean youths given the same academic benefits, mere dozens for the year. Considering the disparity of technical attainment existing between the two peoples under discussion, the reverse of the ratio would seem fair. The training of Korean industrial personnel should be given more candid consideration. I regard it to be one of the obligations of the free world to train and conserve an adequate number of Korean young men in the industrial way.

Lastly I call your attention to the peremptory need of perpetuating in the proposed Japanese peace treaty in clear terms the present high seas demarkation between Korea and Japan, known as the MacArthur line. The line was instituted for sound reasons which will grow sounder as Japan gets out of the occupation status. From the immemorial times up to the opening-up of Korea for world trade, it was the Japanese fishing boats that incessantly harried and plundered hamlets and towns on the Korean coast, which eventually paved the way for the Hideyoshi Invasion, the greatest national calamity known in our history. In future, Japanese fishing boats will probably find it advisable to refrain from downright vandalism, but, if allowed to come close enough to Korean territorial waters, they might easily turn into moving bases for smuggling so as to nip the viability of Korean economy in the bud.

I do personally know of cases where large Japanese fishing boats, infringing the MacArthur line, attempted to butt Korean naval patrols into the sea. It is the established practice with the small Korean fishing vessels to scurry away into safety whenever powerful Japanese ships are sighted on their side of the demarkation, for they know there is always the treacherous sea to bear the Japanese blame of foundering them unseen by Law. The abolishment of the line would mean not only stymieing the nascent Korean fishing enterprise but also placing the entire Korean economy at the mercy of Japanese commercial aggression. While Korea is quite prepared to see Japan restored to its rightful place among

family of nations, she cannot afford to consent to any agreement or non-agreement, for that matter, that leaves open an avenue, through which Japan can dictate the very subsistence of Korea. Korea cannot be persuaded to forego the only and real safeguard she has against possible Japanese economic aggression.

To sum up, Penetrating relief, Economic aid designed to bolster her finance, Ample arms for her military expansion, Candid training program for her industrial personnel, and Eternal high seas safeguard stipulated in an international instrument will certainly help lay the foundation for PEACE in the Far East.

In Bataan, people from two different races fought their common foe, interlocked in comradeship and common ideals. In the world Bataan called Korea the brave sons of numerous free nations blend their honoured ashes in an everlasting covenant of cooperation for one single end — the preservation of free ways of life — which, we fervently hope, will be strengthened with time. Remember that, in this case, there is no world Australia for a military comeback. The free world cannot afford to retreat from this world Bataan.

Korea is a unique exception. Of all small peoples, she is the only one that boldly threw its lot with the free nations, under most unimaginable circumstances of adversity. Proportionately in terms of sacrifice, she has contributed most of all to the cause of human freedom. It may be no more than the widow's mite. But it is also true that she has dedicated all to the cause, which she can call her own.

Whether Korea was wise in putting up a heroic fight against Communism, alias decivilization, or the now Soviet satellites were comparatively wiser in succumbing to Communism unresisting will be eventually decided by the part played by the free world in the wartime relief as well as in the post-war rehabilitation of Korea. If the direction now being pointed to by CARE is persistently and intensively pursued, Korea, I am certain, will stand, not a battered tomb of freedom but a proud monument eternally bearing witness to the triumph of free human will.

"The Necessary Foundation for World Brotherhood"

Address by Dr. You Chan Yang, Korean Ambassador to the United States,
before the World Brotherhood Luncheon of the National Conference of
Christians and Jews, 1 p.m., Monday, November 12, 1951,
Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C.

(Due to unavoidable absence of Ambassador, read by Mr. Pyo Wook Han,
Counsellor, Korean Embassy)

It is an honor for me to have the opportunity to present some of my views before this great Conference dedicated to the brotherhood of all men, regardless of their religion or their race. Mr. Clinchy's invitation was both gracious and flattering. I wish I could live up to the high expectation he was kind enough to express.

I am sure that everyone gathered here today has come with a sense of dedication and challenge. The question before us dwarfs every other problem confronting our confused and groping humanity. The question of brotherhood is first in fundamental importance, first in urgency, and perhaps also first in difficulty.

To find the means of building a bridge of sympathy between human hearts is the great need of the hour if our civilization is to rise above the dangers that now are deluged around us. In the longer view, this same ideal of warm and genuine brotherhood is one we must achieve before humanity can unfold anything like the god-like potentialities which were emplanted within us by our common Creator.

The civilization we are striving to protect is not only threatened from without, but it also is weak within. If this were not so, it could not possibly be seriously endangered. For the great sage Confucius, the dramatists and philosophers of ancient Greece, and the common religious tradition of both Jews and Christians all combine in agreeing on the key fact of our human nature: As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he. If the citadel of the Self is secure, the structure of Society is safe. As men believe, so will they act. Unless the very fact and essence of brotherhood is implanted in our innermost beings, then must we be compelled to struggle and strain to enforce external restraints to govern internal rebellion, suspicion, and distrust.

My own background has cultivated and developed within me a natural and inevitable sense of the commonality, the one-ness, the indissoluble unity of the entire human race. I hope you will pardon me for interpolating these personal references. For again I must repeat my own conviction that brotherhood must be deeply planted in the individual human heart before it ever can come to exercise broad social effects. We must start with ourselves, and encourage every human being to start with himself, for the enforced and unfettered feelings of individuals comprise the one foundation on which mutual respect and confidence can arise.

Like the great majority of people who come from a decently enlightened family background, I was taught at my mother's knee that all men are brothers because we all are children of one God — regardless of the different names He may be given, or the different forms of worship that may be employed.

My life-long profession as a physician and surgeon fortunately enforced these teachings of my youth, rather than directing me into competitive struggles which enlarge differences and emphasize barriers. I have been daily confronted by the fact that suffering and pain know no distinctions of race or religion. Arteries and nerves are the same for all men, regardless of color or creed. Disease and injuries afflict all human beings alike. The blood of white man and brown, of Christian, Buddhist and Jew, is not affected in the slightest by racial origin or religious conviction.

This same lesson was taught me by my residence for most of my life in Hawaii, the most successful melting pot the world has ever known.

And perhaps most fundamentally of all, this habit of regarding all people as simple and irreducible human beings has been strengthened in me because my own origin and traditions are Oriental.

The vast and ancient Orient, peopled with more than half of all the world's inhabitants, offers to mankind both a hope and a challenge. The hope is that forebearance and mutual respect is not a mere chimerical ideal, but a practical reality — for it actually has been achieved and practised over millions of square miles, by billions of people, through thousands of years. The challenge is in the fact that the Oriental peoples, different in both race and religion from the West, have now become close neighbors of every Occidental.

Racial and religious brotherhood is no longer a luxury item to be pursued in dilletantish fashion by a handful of idealists and intellectuals. The knitting together of this globe into One World has made it a vital and urgent necessity if civilization is to be truly achieved and securely maintained.

The Orient is the one part of the world in which this ideal has achieved practical reality on a large and continuing scale. For many centuries China was the "Middle Kingdom," not of an Empire, but of a civilization. Within China itself were many differences, and in the surrounding nations diverse peoples developed their own nationality and traditions. The great religions of Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism spread and intermingled, existing everywhere side by side without conflict and with mutual trust and respect. Our philosophy was well expressed in our common proverb, "Within the four seas all men are brothers."

Now that the world has expanded until the seven seas surround us all, this same ideal must spread until it is accepted not only in the Orient but in the Occident as well.

You may have noticed that in all my foregoing remarks I have carefully refrained from using the word "tolerance." I hope that this Conference has not dedicated itself in any degree to "tolerance" as a goal. As I understand it, tolerance implies a sense of difference accompanied by both a feeling of superiority and a willingness to permit inferior peoples and faiths to exist in their errors untroubled and unharmed. But true brotherhood can never be based upon any conviction of superiority and endurance of inferiority. It will remain a weak and artificial pretense until it is solidly and healthfully nourished on mutual respect.

It should be added that just as brotherhood requires a genuine respect for the persons and beliefs of others, so, too, does it depend absolutely upon an unquestioning self respect. Unless one is convinced of the worthiness of his own origin and beliefs, he is certain to be psychologically defensive. No one can warmly and openly welcome the fact of differences among human beings unless he is satisfied that his own status is basically sound. Mutual respect is based on self respect. This is a fundamental condition for which there is no substitute.

Pity for other peoples won't solve the problem of world brotherhood. The mere determination to be broad-minded and philanthropic can never suffice. The philosophical awareness of the values of brotherhood can never by itself achieve it. The only solution is to be convinced that such basic values exist in one's own race and civilization that the fear of being submerged need never arise. From that base of confidence it is possible and perhaps even inevitable to find values enough in other races and creeds to make one eager for close, friendly, and mutually helpful association with them.

In my own country, Korea, a new and hopeful opportunity has been presented to the peoples of the world. There on our peninsula fifty-four nations of widely differing religions and races are fighting together to achieve a common goal of collective security and enduring peace based on justice. If this fight in Korea is carried through to a successful conclusion, the cause of world brotherhood will have been enormously advanced.

The enemy we have banded together to defeat in Korea is aggressive Communism. The Communist ideology claims world brotherhood as its own peculiar goal. But it has dedicated itself to achieving this goal by destroying all divergent systems, by liquidating all opponents, by conducting through propaganda, subversion and open warfare a world revolution which will implant its own totalitarian system in complete control over every people on earth. This is one way of securing unity, but even if it succeeded it could never create brotherhood. The bloody purges and scores of slave labor camps behind the Iron Curtain are evidence enough of that fact.

Communists respect themselves so little that they cannot possibly respect or even endure the continued existence of other creeds. In this weakness it has already sowed the seed of its own inevitable defeat and decline.

Democracy, too, proclaims world brotherhood as its ideological goal. "All men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." If this broad and humane creed can actually be spelled out in action, our problems will finally be solved. But we are sadly aware of how very far we yet are from achieving the hopeful vision proclaimed in those brave words. Once again, our enemy is not only aggressive attack from outside, but also the rotting weakness of unfulfilled convictions of our own. Democracy can and must become the saving and liberating doctrine of all the world. But it can never achieve this goal until it strengthens itself internally by becoming in fact what it professes in doctrine.

The question is sometimes raised whether brotherhood in the democratic sense is possible or even desirable for all the varying peoples of the world. As a Korean and an Oriental, I want to bring you my own deepest assurance that democracy in the sense spelled out from the immortal pen of Thomas Jefferson is neither alien nor impractical in my part of the world. Village democracy, based on mutual respect and a keen awareness that the well-being of one depends upon the welfare of all, is deeply rooted in our history. The

peaceful and mutually advantageous co-existence of divergent beliefs and customs has been tried and proven in our hemisphere for many centuries. The desire for national freedom, for personal liberties, and for equality of opportunities is no more lacking in our part of the world than it is in yours.

We need security from ruthless aggression, we need education, and we need industrial development to provide a higher standard of living. But we do not lack, and we surely never will resist, the democratic concepts of brotherhood and fair play.

My Government in Korea was confronted by the iron test of invasion by an overwhelmingly stronger foe. We could have supinely surrendered and accepted our assigned role of pawns and slaves of totalitarian Communism. But under the leadership of our great President, Syngman Rhee, our people stood erect and resisted. For this resolve, they have paid the heaviest price in suffering, devastation, and death that has ever been exacted from any people in history. Our nation is literally torn apart and smashed. Over a million of our people in the south, besides unnumbered hundreds of thousands more in the north, have been done to death. More than an additional million have been wounded, subjected to ravages of disease and malnutrition, or have simply disappeared. Some eight millions lost their homes and all their personal possessions. War from the seas, from the skies, and across the face of the land has rolled its hideous destruction back and forth across our countryside, time, and time again.

But still our people stand erect and still they resist. We have not surrendered to the terrifying military force of the enemy, and neither have we bowed to the suggestion of our allies that we should willingly accept defeat and division of our nation as a means of mollifying the anger or weakening the determination of the Communist Empire.

Our goal is clear and simple. We ask for ourselves only the basic rights that should be freely available to all men. We want to live in freedom and in peace. We threaten no other people and we ask nothing for ourselves that we do not willing wish for all others. This, we believe, is the base upon which genuine brotherhood must rest. This is a test of how sound the principles of democracy have become.

In conclusion, I should like most earnestly to ask this great Conference to confirm and support our faith. The rights of a people do not rest upon race or creed. The rights of a nation do not depend upon its size or its strength. All men are created equal. All men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. This is the basis of our national policy. I believe it is the necessary foundation for world brotherhood as well.

"Education in Korea"

Text of an address delivered by Pyo Wook Han, Counsellor, Korean Embassy, to the 1952 Study Conference of the Association for Childhood Education, International Arena, Convention Hall, Washington, D.C., April 17, 1952.

The value of education for improving personal living and for providing an essential foundation for democracy is seldom questioned. Everyone is in favor of education, just as everyone is against sin — and perhaps for similar reasons. For we all recognize that ignorance is a form of sin: both against the individual and against the nation. The most serious question, however, is what is done to bring this favorable attitude toward education into positive focus through effective educational programs.

Perhaps few countries have suffered as great and serious impediments to educational development as has Korea. Let me review the problems for you briefly.

During all the years from 1910 to 1945, Korean education was under the close control of Japan. The Japanese frankly avowed that their educational purpose was to remake Koreans into loyal and subservient subjects of the Japanese Emperor. As one major step toward this goal, they outlawed the use of our own Korean language. They brought Japanese teachers to instruct us, wrote textbooks for our use in the Japanese language, forbade the use of Korean in our schools and even in our own homes, and re-interpreted Korean history in an effort to convince us that our own lineage derived, as did theirs, from Amaterasu, the Sun-goddess. This kind of perversion of education never sank deeply into our minds, but for a full generation it was all we had.

When Japan was defeated and we were liberated, we faced the enormous task of training teachers of our own and of writing textbooks of our own. Our people and our Government realized that this was one of our most important tasks in building a new democracy and we put all our energies and available resources into the job. What was accomplished may be summarized as follows:

- 1) By 1950, textbooks in the Korean language were written, published and in use for all elementary and high school classes and for even a few college classes.
- 2) Primary school enrolment expanded from one and a half million in 1945 to two and a half million in 1950.
- 3) Middle School enrolment expanded from 62,136 in 1945 to 226,960 in 1950.
- 4) College enrolment expanded from 3,039 in 1945 to 21,250 in 1950.
- 5) An adult education program increased the proportion of the adult population able to read the native script, *Hangul*, from one-third to eighty-three per cent of the whole population.
- 6) On-the-job and technical training programs were instituted in the industries and government bureaus.

I think it is only fair to say that our progress educationally was by 1950 very encouraging. Because of the great good fortune that in the fifteenth century our nation developed a phonetic alphabet of 24 letters, our educators were able to raise our people in a very few years to the select small group of nations which have reduced illiteracy to a very small proportion of the population. We established thirty-six colleges and were well on the way to achieving a high standard of universal education.

The Communist attack of June 1950 and the subsequent fighting on our soil has upset our educational system to an unimaginable extent, just as it has wrought havoc with every other aspect of our lives. Thirty-two per cent of the entire elementary school buildings were destroyed by the war. Half of the remaining facilities were taken over by the U.N. or Korean armies. Thus, less than one-third of our elementary school buildings were left for school use. Only thirty-nine per cent of secondary school buildings remain available for school use. Of the sixteen normal schools in Korea, only four now have their own buildings. Only a few colleges and universities can now meet on their own campuses, and over half their faculties have been lost.

While we are summing up the serious problems that confront our educators, we should also note that such great and promising international education programs as the Fullbright and Mundt scholarships are not available to Korea. As a final blow to us, the Communist armies of invasion made it their particular endeavor to destroy textbooks and library facilities wherever they penetrated. These are the broad outlines of the educational problems which now confront us.

Under the leadership of our Government our people have determined to solve even such tremendous problems as these. And we have not put them to one side, to be attended to later, after the eight million homeless refugees are cared for, the ruined cities rebuilt, and the wounds of the war may begin to heal. Quite on the contrary, it is our conviction that education must be nurtured and carried on to the utmost of our ability regardless of the difficulties.

One of the solutions which has been found is to continue to hold classes in the open air — on the hillsides and in the fields. On a bare hilltop overlooking Pusan is a huge sign which reads, "This is Our Battlefield," and beyond and around it are grouped hundreds of open-air classes where students meet and study with such teachers as can be found. The old American vision of Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and a student on the other has in Korea actually come to pass. Only, instead of having one student, each teacher now has from forty to one hundred.

Another means of meeting the problem has been the development of teaching methods without books or the usual means of instruction. For many of the open air classes, there may be only one blackboard for a dozen classes. This is carried from one to another, each teacher using it for a few moments as opportunity affords. Some of the students have notebooks and pencils for taking systematic notes, but a great many do not.

Still another adaptation has been a great and significant change in the curriculum. Lacking libraries, textbooks and laboratories, the teachers have been forced to turn their attention to teaching what lies about them. Fortunately, this requirement does not prevent them from finding subject matter of real significance. Dr. Paik* has directed their attention particularly to three kinds of study materials:

First, he has told them, study the meaning of freedom. This is a vital subject from which they can draw upon the experiences of the four million north Koreans who have fled into the south to escape the tyranny of the Communists. They find ample materials in the newspaper editorials and the speeches of the members of the National Assembly, for, as the last United Nations Commission report points out, the Korean Government has allowed wide freedom for criticism and discussion of the government and of political problems. They know what freedom means, for they and their families are fighting to the death to try to preserve it.

Second, they are studying the meaning of collective security and the broad concept of internationalism. For this, too, they have very significant materials at hand. Fifty-three nations of the world have voted endorsement of our country's fight for freedom. Seventeen nations have actually sent armed forces to our aid. And relief supplies are brought into Korea from almost every part of the world.

Third, our students are studying the world around them. On their way to school in the morning they pluck leaves and grass or pick up stones or sticks and learn in class to identify them and to understand their uses. If they find spots on their rice at home, they bring some grains to school to try to find out the cause. The very clothing they wear becomes a study of textiles and weaving.

I am not trying to conceal from you the very tragic losses which our people have endured educationally, as in many other respects. Our nation has suffered a blow from which we cannot possibly fully recover in our life times, even if we get the generous and constructive help of the United Nations. What I am trying to say is that we are doing our best to keep the light of learning and hope aglow.

In some respects our education is even being improved during these dark days. Our pupils and teachers alike are finding out the values of class discussion, to supplement our former dependence chiefly upon textbooks and class lectures. Our old concept of a classical education is being impregnated necessarily with new ideas of practicality. Leadership is being developed both among teachers and students who are forced to use all their ingenuity to devise means of carrying on. Our school system will never again be the same as it was, and in some respects it will be improved.

Nevertheless, it would be tragically missing the essential fact if I did not sadly report to you that my people are desperately in need of whatever help you may extend to them. Thousands of our young people will have to surrender forever their plans for professional

* Nam Joon (George) Paik, Ph.D., Yale, is Minister of Education and President of Chosen Christian College.

education, unless they get outside assistance — and our whole nation will suffer through the loss of doctors and dentists, of nurses and technicians, of lawyers and public administrators. We need paper on which to print books, money and materials for constructing school buildings, and scholarships to help our select students pursue an education abroad. In all these and many other ways, we are hopeful that you may be able to help.

From Deep Roots, a Sturdy Growth

Text of an address, delivered by Mr. Pyo Wook Han, Counsellor, Korean Embassy, to the Simmons College Forum, Boston, Massachusetts, at 4 p.m. Wednesday, April 23, 1952.

It is a deep and genuine pleasure for me to be able to come here to speak to you, for two reasons. The first is that I am always glad to get back on a college campus to renew the pleasant memories of my own college days in Korea, in up-state New York, in New England, and in Michigan. And the second reason is that coming here is a very sound excuse for getting away briefly from the work of our Embassy in Washington. I don't think I need to elaborate to you on the reasons why an occasional escape from the pressures of our international problems is always welcome!

One of the things that bothers me a little is that my country is being vividly impressed upon the minds of people all over the world as an unhappy land. Of course there is no virtue in representing present conditions in Korea as being anything except unimaginably tragic. For almost two full years now our land has been the scene of a major war. Some of the greatest armies of modern times have fought back and forth through our cities and villages, pouring upon them the destructiveness of modern weapons from the sky as well as across the face of the land. From eight to ten millions of our people are homeless, one million have been maimed, invalidated or driven north as captives, 100,000 of our children have been orphaned, and another million of our people have been killed. In all the long history of Asia there has never been another tragedy to equal what Korea is now undergoing, in the judgment of General Matthew B. Ridgway, who has had abundant opportunity to see the war at first hand.

However, this scene of tragedy should not be interpreted as a sign of despair. My friends and relatives in Korea have often written to me to assure me that their courage and determination remain unshaken by all the horrors around them. Even so, when I visited Korea last fall, I was not fully prepared for what I found there. The bad aspects of the situation are worse than you can possibly imagine; but the good elements are far better than you would dare to hope.

When I landed at the Airport in Pusan, I found a city which I had known before the war as a pleasant seaport of 400,000 popula-

tion now swollen to more than twice that many inhabitants with refugees. During the first winter of the war, the population of Pusan soared to the incredible peak of one million two hundred thousand. Every facility for normal living is far overstrained. If you ever have been in a crowded subway at a rush hour, just imagine people being forced to live under those conditions twenty-four hours a day, and then you may be able to catch a mental picture of what Pusan is like.

But for all of its miseries of over-crowding, Pusan is one of the most fortunate places in Korea today. Before the war, we had fifty-five cities. Only three of them stand undamaged by the war. I went up to Seoul, our capital city, which had a prewar population of one million seven hundred thousand. Seoul has been captured and re-occupied four separate times during the war, and has, besides, been subjected to frequent bombardment from the air. Because of the tremendous destruction of property and lives, its population was reduced at one time to only two hundred thousand — less than one person out of eight of its normal inhabitants. And many cities in Korea actually suffered even worse destruction than has Seoul. Some of them are such hopeless masses of rubble that it is doubtful whether they ever will be rebuilt on the same sites. And besides the loss of our cities, 1,200 of our 5,000 villages have been wiped out. Over two-thirds of our live stock has been lost. Clothing, vehicles, factories and mines — almost everything of value has been reduced so greatly that the task of rebuilding might seem impossible.

This is a terrible aspect of the war between world democracy and world communism which has been fought in our homeland, and we hope the free peoples of the world will not be diverted from the plans already announced by the United Nations for helping us to rebuild what the contending armies have destroyed.

But there is another side to the situation in Korea which has not often been portrayed. If the spirits of our people had been crushed by the enormity of the destruction which has poured upon them, little could be done, at least in this generation, to help us to get back on our feet. The truth is, however, that we have never been utterly knocked down. I think you would be literally amazed if you could visit Korea today and see the spirit which our people are displaying. Their chins are up, their heads are high, and out of their ruins they are already looking forward to the new life they are determined to build.

Our people have always been noted for song and laughter. Travellers have often declared that they could always tell when they were approaching a Korean village by the sounds of gaiety they heard. Believe it or not, this same fact is true today. In the orphanages, in the refugee camps, and in the crumbled remains of our cities and villages, there arise still the sounds of laughter and of song. But more than that. There arises also the steady hum of a people hard at work.

When tragedy strikes anywhere, the only salvation of the afflicted is to set immediately and constructively to work to try to rebuild what nature or man has destroyed. In our country this principle has met its severest test and has been most triumphantly upheld.

No part of our nation has been hammered harder than the industrial triangle taking in Seoul, Inchon, and Sunchon. In this area no fewer than 700 small factories have somehow been restored to productivity. The people have gone into the ruins, salvaged whatever they could find, and with pliers and baling wire have fastened the pieces together and made machinery which again is at work. The water system in the central areas of Seoul is again in operation, and even a few of the street cars are running. Children and old people have given fully of their time and others have spared what hours they could to clear the rubble out of the city streets. Wherever you go in Korean cities which yet are able to support a portion of their previous inhabitants, you find the streets clean and their gaping holes filled in. Even the rubbed areas of ruined homes have begun to take on a neater appearance, as bricks and stones are piled up and building sites cleared off. Of course a great many ruins remain untouched, but by their sides are new constructions going up.

The city of Taejon, where your great General William Dean was captured, is a prime example. In this city over 6,000 homes were destroyed and the main portion of the city was smashed. But by last fall when I was there, the factory productivity of Taejon was actually up to about 90 per cent of its prewar level. The people banded together in volunteer work units and started erecting houses. Farmers in the area around the city contributed straw for thatching and lumber was brought in by the United Nations. So far almost one thousand homes have already been rebuilt. And the people are filled with a genuine excitement of reconstruction. The atmosphere of Taejon is an atmosphere not of despair but of determination and hope.

Chunchon is another city in which the repair of the war damage has already become far advanced. Chunchon is one of our famous old cities, built on the banks of a beautiful river. The people who live there are proud of their 1500-year-old heritage and they have made every possible sacrifice to get the ruins demolished and new construction undertaken. Inchon, the port city where General MacArthur made his famous landing in September, 1950, changing the whole course of the war, resembles in some respects one of the early American frontier towns. Wherever one goes in Inchon, new buildings may be seen, and the people are hastening about their tasks, determined to build again as quickly as they possibly can.

I am not trying to say that the task of rebuilding Korea has been or can possibly be done by our own people alone. I have picked out a few samples where for one reason or another the amount and speed of the restoration has been notable. Most of our burned villages and smashed cities remain today in ruins and will so remain for a great many years to come unless assistance in huge quantities is brought to our aid. The damage to our great modern buildings and factories has been estimated in South Korea alone at around eight billion dollars. We do not have the money or even the physical resources in steel and concrete to rebuild the structures by ourselves. What I am trying to say is that our most precious commodity, the spirit of our people, remains alive, and that with this spirit and with your

material help and understanding the job is far from hopeless. It can and it will be done.

What Korea demonstrates is that roots which are firmly sunk in good soil cannot really be eradicated, no matter how devastating the horrors of destruction may be. And the roots of Korean civilization have indeed been planted deep. Our nation has endured through more than four thousand years of history. We built the world's earliest existing solar observatory — a stone tower at Kyungju which still stands — in 647 A.D. Koreans invented movable wooden type in 1251, two hundred years before Guttenberg. Paper currency was introduced in 1402. The sun dial and the barometer were invented in the fifteenth century. In that same great century we invented a 24-letter phonetic alphabet which is the best method of writing in use in the entire Far East today. In the sixteenth century we invented the world's first iron-clad battleship and flying bomb, and used them to defeat a Japanese invasion which was intended to sweep over all Asia. With such a background as this to inspire our people we know what we can do. We intend to succeed and not to fail.

Perhaps an even more significant development is what happened to us late in the nineteenth century, long after Japan and China were opened to the Western World. Our people observed the Christian and democratic spirit of Western peoples and determined to incorporate these great values into our own lives. Our welcome to Christianity was so genuine that Korea soon became known as "the most Christian land in the Orient." The Christian missionaries helped us build schools and hospitals. More than this, they taught us the essence of democracy and helped us to learn how democracy works. This growth was fast because it found sympathetic soil in the freedom which from time immemorial has existed in our farm villages. Koreans have also been called "The Irish of the Orient," and I think it is correct that something of the Irish fierce love of freedom does truly exist among our people.

Japan tried to stamp out this nationalistic liberty when it seized our nation after the Russo-Japanese war. The Japanese forbade us to use our own language and attempted to make us日本化 our literature, our history, our customs, and even our very names. But even though Japanese rule continued until 1945, our people never surrendered. When the Allied armies entered Korea at the end of the War, they found us just as determinedly Korean as ever.

I might say that this same spirit has been displayed by the unfortunate inhabitants of north Korea who found themselves freed from Japan only to be bound under the even worse police state totalitarianism of the Soviet Communist State. Russia brought back into north Korea a gang of Sovietized Korean expatriates and foisted them upon the people as rulers. With their guns and their cruel tyranny they were able to dominate the area of northern Korea, but they never were able to win the loyalty of the people. Several million of the original eleven million inhabitants managed to escape and find their way down into the free Republic of Korea south of the 38th parallel. And those who have been forced to remain have

been subjected to deliberately cruel deprivation of food, clothing and shelter which has led to the epidemics of disease that communist propaganda is recklessly imputing to American-directed germ warfare.

One of the most hopeful signs in all Korea today is the determination of all the people, north and south, to reunite peacefully and without hatred. We all know full well that the destruction and warfare has been communist inspired and directed, for the Soviet Union's purposes of world domination. The Korean people themselves have refused to be divided into north and south. For four thousand years we have been a homogeneous nation, and the events of the past seven years cannot destroy what 400 centuries has joined together. My Government and our united people insist that there can be no end to the struggle which has been launched until our nation is re-united and free once again. Whatever the truce negotiations at Panmunjum may decide, this is our determination and to this goal we pledge our every effort for so long as may be required to achieve it.

Every American is searching his mind and his heart for an Asian policy which will unite that vast area, with its population of half the total human race, into sound allegiance with the freedom-loving peoples of the world. It is my plea to you today to build your policy soundly upon roots that go deep into the life of Asia, rather than trying to recast history according to some formula which may be devised from outside. Specifically, in view of the policies which appear to be developing at the present time, I would like to urge upon you the following considerations:

First: do not seek to build America's peace hopes for Asia upon Japan as your main bulwark. To be magnanimous to a defeated enemy is praiseworthy, but it should not be carried to the extent of forgetting historical facts. In all Asian history, Japan has been a militaristic threat to its neighbors. The suspicion which exists toward that island empire spreads all over the Far East, through Korea, China, and the whole broad expanse of Southeastern Asia. Obviously Japan must be restored sufficiently to be able to maintain itself. But if Japan is to be aided by the United States to become the great military power of the Far East, and to become again the economic overlord of its neighbors, every Asian nation will be impelled to seek its own safety in some alliance which will promise protection against a renewal of the threat we have had to face in the past. The best program is one that contemplates a general regional development, with every people in Asia being aided together — your World War II friends, as well as your defeated foes.

Second: no program for the Far East can succeed that does not aim to help the independent nations of the Orient to develop and protect their own freedom. A policy that leaves Korea divided, with half our nation still held by the communist invaders, cannot promise lasting stability. A policy that envisions leaving the great people of China left indefinitely under what is in effect foreign rule through communist puppets cannot succeed. The final traces of colonialism in Southeastern Asia must be surrendered. Whatever else is true of

Asia, the determination of the peoples there to be free is one of the truest and most significant facts that will determine the future of that half of the world.

Finally: in all your policy-making, do not lose faith in the ability of our people and of other Asian peoples to attain with your help and under your guidance the same political freedoms, educational advancement and economic opportunities which you, yourselves, have achieved. History has knocked at our doors. We have tasted the breath of free institutions. We have had our minds opened to the great cultural and educational opportunities made possible by the modern printing presses, the radio, and the motion picture. We have learned that the machine is able to lift burdens off the backs of men and to create comforts and even luxuries for even the humblest of homes. Our goals are set far higher than ever before. No policy can possibly succeed that may hope or try to set this clock of progress back.

It is useless to blind ourselves to the cardinal fact that a great global power struggle exists between the forces of democracy and communism. On one side of the globe peoples are determined to spread freedom and self-rule. On another side of the globe, dictatorial rulers are making one more great trial at enslaving populations under a totalitarian state for the benefit of its ruling classes.

Between these two contending powers lie the peoples of the Far East. Partly because of colonial policies under which we have been governed, we have not been able to develop industrial resources or organized social and political patterns of our own. The weight which normally we should be able to exert with our great populations and our tremendous (if largely undeveloped) natural resources remains at present imponderable. We can at present do little to enforce our own innate desires for achieving our own well-being.

What we can do is to appeal to you as rationally and as truthfully as we can to observe and act upon the facts as they exist. These facts I have tried to set forth for your consideration. What I have said applies to Korea but also in varying degrees to other peoples all over the Far East. In the global power struggle which is being waged, the most immediate success will be achieved by the combination of great Powers which bases its policies most firmly upon these facts. Asia in the long run of history will find its own way to greater prosperity, freedom, and self-determination. For the immediate future, it will be forced to drift in whatever direction may be determined by the policies of the two great contending power centers of the world. My plea to you is that your own great nation will fix its policies firmly upon the foundations of treating all Asian peoples with equality, of assisting all of us toward national freedom and unity, and of believing with us in the potentialities which we have ready for development.

Your Duty and Mine

An address delivered by Dr. You Chan Yang, Korean Ambassador to the United States, to the Conference of the Korean Students, Riverside Church, New York City, at 2:00 p.m. Friday, June 6, 1952.

Mr. Chairman and Students:

Or maybe I should say, "Fellow students." Actually I feel a strong bond of fellowship with you young men and women who are here today. We are all Koreans, gathered here, far from our own homeland, surrounded by strangers who sympathize with our country's troubles, but who understand all too little of what we Koreans are really like and of what our nation is having to endure. We are all Koreans with a common destiny — and this is far more important in binding us together than any differences we may have (of age, or politics or belief) could ever do to hold us apart. And this is part of the reason for my feeling of fellowship with you. Here in New York City, eight thousand miles and more from home, we can look into one another's eyes and say from the depths of our hearts: "We are one in race, one in our aims, and one in hope." And nothing that all the rest of the whole round world can say or do can change that essential fact.

I would like to speak to you as a "fellow student" for other reasons as well. It may seem like a long time to you since I myself was a college student in Boston, but in my memory it isn't so terribly long. And when I was a student, I was animated by very many of the thoughts and feelings that are stirring in this very group today. You students have banded together into an organization partly because your beloved nation is in deep trouble, and you mean to do everything you possibly can collectively as well as individually to help. This is the noble goal that makes your fellowship in this organization meaningful to you. As a matter of fact, exactly those same sentiments were felt by me and by the smaller number of Korea students in America back in my own college days. Then, too, Korea was occupied by a foreign totalitarian power — Japan. Then, as now, Korea's essential welfare seemed to have been largely forgotten by her international friends, as well as by her cruel and tyrannical enemies. Then, as now, we Korean students banded ourselves together to do what we could to help. Because of this experience of my own, I feel that I can understand the emotions of patriotism that are in your hearts, and I feel that despite our difference in age I can speak to you with real understanding, as one of your own group.

In still another sense I should like, in all humility, to use the phrase "fellow students" in speaking to you. The title of Ambassador is a very great distinction, and I don't know when if ever I shall really come to deserve it. In this business of dealing with the great Powers of the earth — in my own case, in dealing with the greatest Power of them all, the United States — tremendous knowledge and tremendous abilities are required. Korea's lot is a hard one, for we have great needs to be met and very difficult problems to be under-

stood and solved. Yet we have little wealth or power to back up our position. We have to depend wholly upon the justice of our cause and upon the morality and decency and enlightened self-interest of the strong and wealthy nation from which we must obtain the life-giving help we need. I can assure you that it is no easy task to go into the office of President Truman, or of Secretary Acheson, or of other top officials of this nation and of the United Nations, and to ask them to let us have what Korea needs in order to exist as a free nation.

You and I know our nation's history well. We know the spirit of our people. We know the great sacrifices that our own fathers and grandfathers, yes, and our remote ancestors, made not only for the liberty of Korea but also for the security of the whole Far East. We know the terrible suffering and the unflinching courage of our own friends and families who are standing firm against the Communist threat today. We know deep in our hearts that Korea is not fighting for itself alone but also for all free men and women everywhere in the world. We know that in this global struggle for survival Korea is playing a worthy part and deserves all the help that outside nations possibly can give.

I have been back to Korea several times since any of you were there, and I know even better than you the awful price in destruction and devastation and death that is being paid to hold the line in Korea for world-wide democracy and freedom. Yes, we know these things, and because we know them, we never cease to wonder and never cease to sorrow because our friends here don't always seem to know and to understand equally well.

But one thing I have learned in the year and a half I have spent as Ambassador: and that is that what seems so clear and evident to us seems cloudy and uncertain to others. You, doubtless, have learned the same thing in the talks you have had with American students and with others outside the classroom. And so I say to you again, that being Ambassador in these desperate days is no easy task. It is a task I can never claim to perform as well as I wish I could. Like you, I am a student trying my best to learn as I go along. My examinations are hard — perhaps even harder than yours. And when I fail, it is not alone a failure for me, but for our entire nation as well.

And therefore it is also in this sense that I speak to you as a fellow student — as one who, like yourselves, is trying his best to learn and to achieve and to make good for the people and the nation we all love so well.

I hope that as a result of what I am telling you — and I assure you it comes from the very depths of my heart — I hope you will let me address you in a spirit of very close fellowship. I should like to wipe away the barriers of age and of position which in our old culture were supposed to separate us. I should like to come as close to your thoughts and your feelings as you come close to one another in the intimate talks you have when you sit behind closed doors to talk of the troubles and the hopes that mean most in your lives.

If I may, indeed, talk to you in this spirit, there are many things I should like to say to you which it would be far more difficult for me to say to an American audience — no matter how sympathetic it may be.

I should like, for example, to talk to you of our common loyalty and of our common duty. You and I are far from the battlefield of our distressed nation. We are far removed from the guerrilla bands, from the homeless refugees, from the thousands of orphans and millions of homeless folks. In this time of hunger and danger and near despair in Korea, we are stationed over here in wealthy America — with safety and warm shelter and good clothes and sufficient food. Instead of being drafted into the army, or assigned to labor battalions, or trying to pick up some kind of a living in the midst of war ruins, you are here in American universities, attending classes and developing your souls and your minds.

It is good that you have this opportunity. It is surely good for you, and you can make it good for your nation. What I should like most solemnly to ask of you is that you never for one instant forget that you are soldiers, too. Your duty is safer and pleasanter than that of our troops who are on the firing line or in training camps. But your duty is no less essential to the welfare of our people.

I think you know as well as I what this duty is. I need do no more than remind you of it briefly, for you can fill in all the details for yourselves. You should study as hard as you can and learn as much as you can. You should strive earnestly to learn those things which will help in rebuilding our shattered country. You should learn as quickly as you can, and you should give up all thoughts of the luxury of idle meditation and philosophical speculation. You should work as military officers work when they are assigned to a training school to acquire the skills required to help win a victory in the field. And when you have gained the basic information and skills that are needed, you should gladly catch the first available ship and return to Korea, where your new abilities are desperately needed. The title of "student" must not become a badge of reproach to designate those who dally abroad when their country needs them most. It must never become a shield behind which individuals may hide to hold themselves far from the battlefield of military or economic problems at home.

You know and I know that you who are here are a very small band of students who were fortunate to be selected for the role you are called upon to play. You know, as I do, that some in Korea are very critical of the governmental policy which permits a select few of our young people to study abroad, while the great majority remain at home to face the dangers and the difficulties. And you know, as do I, that the American Embassy in Korea has refused passports to some students on the charge that those who have gone abroad have not returned when they promised, and were scheduled, to do so. This is a very personal matter for each one of you. There probably is not a student here who cannot think of good reasons why he personally should stay here for one or two or even more years to complete some program he has mapped out for himself.

But I must call upon each of you, most solemnly and most earnestly, to search your own hearts and determine whether you ought not soon to return home and give your help where it is needed most.

There is another phase of your duty as students which is also well known to you, but perhaps I come into even closer contact with it than you do yourselves. This is the fact that each and every one of you is a Korean Ambassador to the United States, even though you do not officially bear that title. This is a duty and an office which you cannot avoid, even though you might like to do so. Whatever you say, and indeed whatever you do, is regarded by all who observe you as an indication of what our people back home are like. You are all under the microscope of special and continuous scrutiny and are subject to constant judgment. If you are lazy, or irresponsible, or thoughtless, it is not you and your college work alone that suffers, but your entire nation as well. If you forget the war at home even for a day or for an hour, there will be Americans around you who will wonder why American men should be fighting in a war which seems to mean less than it should to you. This is a heavy charge for you all to bear in mind: that you must be not only as earnest and as studious as the American students who are your classmates, but far more than they possibly can be.

Finally, your duty as Ambassadors extends to what you say even in the most casual conversations about your own people and your own Government. It is no more possible for you to know everything about Korea or about Korean political affairs than it is possible for American students to know everything about their own country. It is no more necessary for you all to represent one single political faith than it is necessary for any other democratic people all to think exactly alike. But these are facts it is easy for your American associates to forget. They can not help but regard you all as fountains of clear wisdom and sources of pure knowledge about Korean affairs. When they ask you questions, they want the best answers you can give. When they ask for your opinions about the political situation in Korea, they are very likely to think that whatever you may reply is really the deepest feelings of the whole Korean nation. This fact imposes upon you a very heavy responsibility to represent your nation just as loyally and just as consistently as I, in my official capacity, try to do.

Now there are some other things I should like to say to you, in this same spirit of fellowship and frankness. I should like to discuss with you some of the problems of our homeland. And I should like to do it in a way that will answer questions you may have in mind, and that will help you to answer questions you may be asked.

One of these questions is, "What is the situation in Korea really like?" Most, if not all, of you get letters regularly from your families at home, so you can answer this question pretty well. From my own visits back there I can report to you that the situation is very grim indeed, but that the spirits of our people have not been and will not be crushed. Fifty-five south Korean cities have been entirely or largely destroyed. Twelve hundred villages have been wiped out. Some eight million of our people have been driven from

their homes. There have been more than two million civilian casualties. Our Republic of Korea Armed forces have suffered over three hundred thousand battle casualties. Our industries are largely in ruins. Our land has been so badly smashed that we never can rebuild what we have lost unless we get large amounts of help — help which the United Nations has promised, but which has not yet begun to arrive in any significant amounts.

Another aspect of the destructiveness of this war is the ruinous inflation which strikes equally at everyone. Despite every effort our Government can make, prices have gone up and up on a general average of thirty and forty times their pre-war level. One important reason for the inflation is the large amounts of money our Government has been obliged to lend to the United Nations forces for their expenses in Korea. Because the sources of our governmental revenues have largely been destroyed, this loan to the United Nations has had to be met by running the printing presses and thus flooding the market with more paper currency. For many months I have been struggling to get an agreement by which this Won loan could be repaid. At last such an agreement appears to have been reached. Conditions may not get a great deal worse than they now are, but it will be a great many months or even years before we can get back to the stability of prices which will make a sound economy possible.

Korea can not solve problems of this sort alone. Our nation has become a battlefield on which is being fought out on a small scale a world-wide war between the democracies and the Communist Empire. We pay the heavy price of having been caught in the middle in a battle of giants. These are facts that you students should understand well, and you should do your best to help the American people understand them as well. For help will never come to us in adequate amounts unless there is understanding and the sympathy that springs from sure knowledge.

There is another aspect of the situation in Korea that needs to be better understood here in the United States and around the world. You and I know that Korea was ruined by the 38th parallel division. We know that our people had no part in making that division and that the most basic determination of all our people is to re-unite our divided nation. Only a re-united Korea can live as a free nation. Only after unification is secured can we begin the slow but sure process of rebuilding our own economy. Only then can we look forward with hope to a secure and decent future.

We know something else about this 38th parallel division. We know that Russia has wanted all or half of Korea for a great many years. We know that if Russia gets Korea it can use our nation as a bridge for further aggression, just as Japan did a generation ago. We also know something about the psychology of Communism and about the psychology of totalitarian aggressors. We know that unless they are decisively defeated they will simply march on to more and worse aggressions.

All mankind should have learned this lesson through the experiences of World War II. They should have learned it from the fail-

ure of the old League of Nations to hurl Japan back from Manchuria, and Italy from Ethiopia and Germany from the Ruhr. When the League of Nations failed to take that decisive stand against aggression, the League failed and World War II became inevitable. History is now repeating itself in a most tragic way. The United Nations is failing to hold firm in its intention of throwing the Communist aggressors back out of Korea, and as a result the United Nations is weakening itself and inviting the disaster of World War III.

These are things you should remember when people ask you why the Republic of Korea continues to demand that Korea must be reunited and the Communist Chinese driven back into their own territory. We expect the American public to know these things as well as we do ourselves. But we must remember that America is far from the battlefield. The American people have never lived under totalitarian conquerors, as we have. The United States has never been invaded and devastated as we have been. What is so clear to us is not always clear to our friends here. We cannot expect these people to understand it all for themselves. They must be told, and told, and told again, and it is you and I who must do the telling. This is one great service we can render to our people, and in this service we must not fail.

Another ambassadorial task you must expect to perform is that of informing your American associates of what Korea has achieved in laying the groundwork for true democracy. Sometimes I talk to Americans, and I am sure you do too, who judge of events in Korea as though our nation were a kind of insulated laboratory in which pure textbook democracy could be made operative overnight if only we wished to do so. And whenever there is any partial failure of pure democracy in Korea, they seem to think it is because we do not want to be democratic after all.

The situation would be funny if it were not tragic. There are grave failures of democracy here in the United States. I see them and you see them and the American people see them. There is no good to be achieved by our pointing them out, either to ourselves or to our American friends. No one likes to have attention called to the beam that is in his own eye. But many people take a real delight in pointing out the mote in the eyes of his neighbor.

We know, of course, that democracy has not sprung into full being in Korea over-night. But I am afraid that very few Americans realize how very much our nation has accomplished along these lines in the very brief and very troubled life of our Republic. Let me merely enumerate a few of these achievements for you, and I hope, in turn, you will never tire of enumerating them to your American friends:

1. The right to vote has been extended to all Korean adults, women as well as men, without any qualifications of property or education. This right has been held so dear that in our elections to date almost an average of 90 per cent of all eligible voters have gone to the polls. This is almost twice the proportion of voters in such old democracies as the United States and in Western Europe. This

in itself shows what democracy means to use and how firmly it is planted in our very hearts.

2. We have dealt very practically and successfully with the greatest problem that confronted us internally as a nation — the problem of land reform. Our Government has adopted land reform laws which have almost entirely eliminated farm tenantry, and we did it in the very face of this war. No free nation in all history ever accomplished such a sweeping land reform program as we have put into effect. As a comparison, President Truman declared recently in a public speech that when he came into office 48 per cent of all American farmers were tenants or renters; and that under his administration this figure had been reduced to 25 per cent. Here you have it: in this greatest and wealthiest nation in the world, one farmer in every four is still a tenant. But in poor and struggling Korea we have ended farm tenantry almost completely! This is an achievement of which we may be very proud, and it is something which we should be proud to repeat again and again and again, until it is known and its importance realized everywhere.

3. We have developed education to an extent that can only be fully appreciated by Koreans and by those few American friends who know us best. You and I know well the situation when Korea was ruled by Japan. Our textbooks were Japanese; our teachers were Japanese; even the very language we were forced to use was Japanese. Our conquerors even did their level best to make us think Japanese thoughts. When Japan was defeated and driven out, we had to write new textbooks and educate our own teachers. Yet we set to work and did the job so quickly and so thoroughly that we actually quadrupled the number of Korean children who could go to school. Yes, we provided educational opportunities for four times as many Korean children as had the mighty empire of Japan. And even during this war period, when two thirds of all our school buildings have been lost to us, we have continued education in open-air schools and in tents. And the reason we have done this is largely because we know full well that true democracy can only be developed with and through an educated populace. This is the foundation, and we have determined to lay it well.

4. Despite all the dangers arising from underground Communism and from outside Communist propaganda, our Government has gone a long way to insure freedom of speech and freedom of the press. The United Nations Commission on Korea has been especially sensitive to the conditions of free speech, and has made a careful examination of the situation. In the last official United Nations report on Korea, published on September 5, 1951, the United Nations Commission praised our Government highly for the degree of freedom of expression which has been permitted — yes, and encouraged — even in the very midst of this war.

5. Finally, and most important, the ideals of true democracy have settled down deep in the very hearts of our people and will not be uprooted. In the local elections which were held last April and May, our people for the first time elected their own local and provincial officials. They have found out what it means to have the

power of the ballot boxes in their own hands. They have learned what it means to have a Government that is responsible directly to them — a government of, by and for the people. And having learned this, they never again will let any totalitarian system, domestic or foreign, take root in our soil.

Now, having discussed these basic facts with you, I want to say a few words about the current political situation back home. President Rhee sought last November to carry true democracy one step further and to secure a Constitutional amendment that would give to the people themselves the right to elect our President. You know the reasons why this power was lodged in the National Assembly when our Republic was formed. Partly the reason was because the Constitution had to be formed very hastily. Partly it was because many then feared that the people, who had never had any experience with ballot-box democracy, might not be ready to exercise this great power. But under the tremendous growth of democracy that has taken place in the last four years, President Rhee believes that the people are now ready to select their own Head of State. He furthermore believes that nobody whatsoever has the right to keep this basic privilege from our people. I join him absolutely in this faith. Nobody who favors true democracy can doubt it for a minute.

The National Assembly, however, has been thinking less of democracy than of its own power. Some of the members are power-hungry, and mean to hold on to the power they now have. Others have fallen under the influence of various foreign sources that wish to dictate the choice of the next Korean President for their own reasons. President Rhee is facing this issue squarely and is determined that non-Korean, and indeed even anti-Korean, forces shall not and must not decide upon our next President.

When you next hear President Rhee being described as "arbitrary" because he is determined to prevent this perversion of the power of the National Assembly, I hope you will keep in mind this basic fact: what President Rhee is fighting for, and all he is fighting for, is the fundamental right of the entire Korean electorate to vote for a President of their own choice.

If this policy is bad, the whole concept of democracy is bad. If democracy is really sound, what President Rhee is trying to achieve is of essential importance. He is an old man. The time is long past when he could have any personal ambition for himself. He has no sons to whom he could pass on the reins of power. He has not even built up any personal political machine with close followers to whom he might leave a legacy of political control. No one ever charges him with this kind of favoritism — not even his bitterest enemies.

Yet many uninformed and careless writers and commentators in this country (and some in Korea, as well) appear to see something sinister in the efforts of a man, now seventy-seven years old, to plant the roots of true democracy firmly and solidly before he passes from the scene. I hope that you will join me effectively and earnestly in combatting this kind of loose and false thinking. I hope you will use all the influence that you have as unofficial ambassadors to

try to set the facts straight and to interpret them in terms of the true conditions in Korea.

In conclusion, I should like to remind you all that we have a common opportunity, through our presence here in the United States, and a common responsibility. We who are here are spared the hardest trials and greatest sufferings of this tragic period in our country's history. For this we certainly should not be grateful, nor need we feel ashamed. What remains is for us to resolve most earnestly and solemnly to do our best in the place where we are.

Learn all you can, return to Korea to help as soon as you can, and while you are here do your best to represent your nation and your people in a way that will create broader understanding and win truer and firmer friends. This is your responsibility. This is your task. I know you will do all you possibly can to serve Korea as well while you are here as your friends are serving over there.

Our Problems and Our Hopes

Opening statement by Ambassador You Chan Yang at the Korean-Japanese Conference, Tokyo, October 20, 1951.

I am sure we are all aware of the truly historic significance of this meeting, as we gather here to open the first conference to be held between our two nations in more than forty years. I cannot avoid the feeling that the centuries of the long past are somehow looking over our shoulders. We must seek redress for the mistakes of former times and build together a program that will help the future to atone for the past.

Nature itself placed Korea and Japan side by side on the map of the world. Geography has created ties between our two nations which nothing wrought by human hands can undo. Here we stand; only one hundred and twenty-five miles apart, close neighbors, and for that reason destined whatever we may plan or do to march on toward the future with our hopes and fears more or less intertwined.

There are factors in our past history which are not pleasant to remember. I want to talk with you frankly about this, for frankness is the best basis for the development of honest friendship. We have no intention of presenting to you an outer mask which will conceal the true feelings in our hearts. We want to say to you exactly what is in our minds and we hope you will respond by telling us precisely what you think and feel. In this spirit, and in this spirit only, can we settle down with confidence to work out the solution of the problems that still confront us.

I cannot say to you that we Koreans are going to wipe the past out of our minds. To say this would only be an empty form of words, for human beings are not passive slates from whose memories events may be erased.

What I can say — and I say it with the utmost earnestness and sincerity — is that we are hopeful we shall be able to work out together a pattern of future relationships which will be so mutually

satisfactory to our two peoples that the past will gradually fade away into significance.

We have a responsibility to our own and to future generations to lay here in this Conference the beginnings of a secure foundation upon which the peoples of Korea and Japan can stand through all the years ahead on a basis of mutual confidence, trust, and respect. This task is of such importance that we must not permit ourselves to fail.

The years of Japanese occupation left us with problems which cannot be easily solved. From 1905 to 1945 we were not masters of our own house and we could not build the kind of structure we desired.

Our economic processes were tied closely and inexorably into those of Japan and were made to serve as subsidiaries to Japanese development. As a result, our industrial development was unhealthy and was so devised that it should not be able to stand alone.

Similarly, during all those years our own people were barred from technical and managerial training and experience such as is indispensable to any progressive society.

These are handicaps which now have to be overcome. The opportunities which were denied to more than a full generation of our people must now be sought in fullest measure for today and for all the years ahead.

This is the sum of the feelings of our people. Without forgetting the past, we want to live side by side with Japan as equal and sovereign neighbors in the world's community of free nations. On this basis both nations should profit and in this spirit both peoples should prosper.

I shall not attempt to specify these questions now. But I should like to indicate that a fair and full settlement of Korea's just claims will constitute the only basis upon which we can turn from the past to contemplate together the building of a better future.

The period which lies immediately ahead will demonstrate irrevocably the direction in which the peoples of Asia shall go. The choice is between the new fair play of democracy and the old self-seeking militarism. The question we and all other Asian nations must ask is whether Japan has fully and without reservation accepted the necessity and desirability of dwelling beside us in equal partnership and with mutual respect and safeguards for the welfare of us all. There can be no special advantages, no favored people in the time that lies ahead.

The problem of supporting our various populations on a decent standard of living is a problem for all of us alike, and no nation can have priority in its solution. Japan needs markets; so does Korea. Japan needs access to raw materials; so do we. Japan needs further industrialization to support its population; and so does Korea. These are serious problems. But an even more pressing one has arisen.

The real challenge of today is the threat of Communist aggression. In Asia Korea is the key battleground on which that threat is being met and on which it must be defeated. On our soil is being

fought the battle that may, and indeed that must, result in winning the war for all the free peoples of the Far East. Ours is the exposed outpost upon which the heaviest blows are falling, and from which the enemy can and must be turned back before he strikes further into other free lands.

In any military arrangements that are made for Asia and the Far East, this key fact must be taken into account. Our nation is paying a fearful price in suffering, destruction and death to stand as a bulwark against further Communist advance. Under these circumstances we cannot be indifferent to the Communist Party in Japan, nor can we deny that it worries us somewhat. For we all know that international communism is one vast subversive machine, obeying one master, and threatening all free men everywhere.

When the challenge came to us, we chose the side of freedom, even though the cost was immeasurably great, and on that ground we proudly stand. We do not intend to deviate from the role of sovereign responsibility which we have assumed at so tragic a price.

So, to our confreres the Japanese, we should like to say: We have never in our long history attacked you. We do not intend to do so. You have attacked and against our will engulfed us. Both of our nations have entered within this present generation into great wars. Yours was to submerge freedom, ours was to preserve it. These are significant factors which cannot be ignored. To refrain from stating them might seem to be more gracious and polite. But as a physician I have long known that enclosed and covered sores are the ones that fester most dangerously. And even a limited experience in diplomacy has served to teach me that the same is true in the relations of nations.

Let us not deceive; let us not pretend. We cannot avoid a certain amount of reserve until we may be positively assured that the past is not to be repeated in the future.

But we have no desire to live with backward vision. The hope for both of our peoples is that a new constructiveness and mutuality of interests may replace the antagonism and injustices of the past. The opportunity presented by this conference must not be minimized nor missed. Let us strive together here to lay a sound foundation by first solving the accumulated problems that confront us and on that ground to build new confidence and new trust.

Japanese Claims

Statement of Dr. You Chan Yang, Korean Ambassador to the United States and Chief Delegate to the Korea-Japan Conference, Tokyo, April 4, 1952.

I am issuing this statement in the earnest hope that the Japanese Delegation will reconsider its position, as set forth orally on several recent occasions and as stated for the record in a paper entitled "BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE AGREEMENT TO BE CONCLUDED BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

CONCERNING THE DISPOSITION OF PROPERTY AND CLAIMS
(The Japanese Delegation's Proposal)" contained in the Summary Record of the Fifth Session of the Claims Committee, March 6, 1952.

I quote from a section of that paper entitled "GIST OF EXPLANATION OF THE JAPANESE PROPOSAL CONCERNING THE PROBLEM OF PROPERTY AND CLAIMS":

"1.... The disposition of property and claims between Japan and the Republic of Korea must be bilateral, not unilateral. However, by the provisions of Article 4 (b), Japan recognizes the validity of dispositions of property of Japan and Japanese nationals made by or pursuant to directives of the U. S. Military Government in Korea. This restricts the original Japanese assertion to some extent.

"The U. S. Military Government in Korea effected the de facto transfer of Japanese property to the Korean Government. This does not mean, however, that the U. S. Military Government transferred to the Korean Government full rights over the said property. If the legal right of disposal held by the U. S. Forces as belligerent or occupation forces is construed as having been transferred to a third party which was neither a belligerent nor an occupation army, it would be following a logic which is quite against the principles of international law.

"In conclusion, Japan recognizes the validity of dispositions of property of Japan and Japanese nationals made by or pursuant to directives of the U. S. Military Government in Korea under Article 4(b) of the Peace Treaty, but does not waive her original rights and claims to property in Korea. These original rights and claims are properly the subject of the special arrangements expected under Article 4 of the Peace Treaty. Unless Japan waives such rights and claims in this special arrangement, they continue [sic] to exist, as a matter of course..."

My delegation fully realizes the purport of the foregoing Japanese statement: that despite *everything*, Japan is insisting that she has property rights in Korea!

And yet the uncertainty in the minds of the authors (of the summary just quoted) as to the legality of the Japanese position is reflected in their inconsistent, and indeed conflicting assertions. For example, in the few paragraphs just cited we are assured twice that "Japan recognizes the validity of dispositions of property of Japan and Japanese nationals made by or pursuant to directives of the U. S. Military Government in Korea." And yet we are told that the transfer of such property by USAMGIK did not give "full rights" to the Korean Government, and again that Article 4(b) of the Japanese Peace Treaty "restricts the original Japanese assertion to some extent."

It is also interesting, in view of our people's long and intimate knowledge of how the Japanese acquired some of this property (by duress, bribery, terror and other standard methods of the police state) to find a pious reference in your statement to "the principles of international law."

Since you rely on law, our understanding of the legality of the Military Government's official acts in Korea as to property is clear: the words of Ordinance No. 33 (6 December 1945) and of the property settlement of 11 September 1948 mean what they say, and emanate from sources of proper authority.

I invite your attention again to Section 2 of the USAMGIK Ordinance:

"The title to all gold, silver, platinum, currency, securities accounts in financial institutions, credits, valuable papers, and any other property located within the jurisdiction of this Command of any type and description, and the proceeds thereof, owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, in whole or part, on or since 9 August 1945, by the Government of Japan, or any agency thereof, or by any of its nationals, corporations, societies, associations, or any other organizations of such government or incorporated or regulated by it is hereby vested in the Military Government of Korea as of 25 September 1945, and *all such property is owned by the Military Government of Korea.*"

I refer you to the entire text of the "Initial Financial and Property Settlement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Korea" (signed at Seoul, September 11, 1948) and a brief quotation from Article V is sufficient to indicate its intent and legal authority:

"The Government of the Republic of Korea recognizes and ratifies such disposition of former Japanese public and private property vested under Ordinance No. 33 of the United States Military Government in Korea as has already been effected by the United States Army Military Government in Korea..."

As for the Japan Peace Treaty itself, Article 2 (a) in which Japan recognizes the independence of Korea and renounces all right, title and claim to Korea, and Article 4 (a) and (b) are most pertinent. Our Republic takes the stand that Japan cannot interpret either (a) or (b) to suit itself, thus giving lip-service to the "validity" of Military Government directives while denying their full legitimacy under international law.

In the matter of shipping, as in this entire property matter, my Government is taking a fully realistic and legitimate stand. After careful consideration we put in the extremely reasonable claim against Japan of roughly only seventy-four thousand tons. And yet Japan has countered with an offer of a ridiculously low five thousand tons! I cannot in good conscience recommend that my Government even consider such a fantastically low amount.

In all of this I must remind you that not only the Republic of Korea but the entire free world are critically watching Japan's performance, especially in the period when Japan again assumes sovereignty as the result of an extremely generous Peace Treaty with the victors.

Remember, it is not Korea that is on trial in the court of world opinion! To the contrary, the world including my own sovereign nation, is anxiously awaiting proof that Japan has changed; that

your country is really ready to assume her responsibilities as a member of the family of nations; and, in this case, that she is ready to treat her Asian neighbors fairly.

My Republic is convinced that unless we and the Japanese Government solve all existing issues between us in this Treaty now being negotiated, it is fruitless to proceed with *any* Treaty.

If the Japanese persist in their unwarranted and legally unsound position, especially in property claims, my Delegation will have no choice but to tell the world who is responsible for the failure to consummate a Korea-Japanese Treaty.

The United States and our other UN allies expect much of us in Asia in the crucial fight for the survival of all freedom-loving nations, of which our people would like to believe Japan is one. Unity with the other Asian nations in this struggle is impossible unless Japan takes realistic recognition of the situation and drops her transparently obvious attempts to "bargain" on matters in which your Delegation has no legal or moral foundation for "bargaining."

My Delegation awaits your decision with the hope that you will realize the issues at stake, that you will take the long-range view and not insist on maintaining a position which is inimical not only to your own interests and to Asian unity against the Communist monster, but to world peace.

"Korean and American Independence"

Text of an address delivered by Dr. You Chan Yang, Korean Ambassador to the United States, at Bristol, Rhode Island, on July 4, 1952.

Governor Roberts, Senator Green, Distinguished Guests, and Ladies and Gentlemen:

The invitation to me to speak on this day and in this place to this distinguished audience is a high honor and a deeply appreciated mark of the warm friendship which exists between our two countries.

It is a special pleasure to me to return here to the heartland of New England, for it was in New England where I received my education as a medical doctor and where I met and married my late wife. In those long-ago school days and in my later practise as a physician in Hawaii, I have studied something of the history of the United States, and I hope I have absorbed something of the democratic spirit which has brought unique greatness to your magnificent nation.

The Fourth of July cannot be thought of solely as an American holiday. In raising on your shores the standards of individual and national freedom, your forefathers raised a standard around which have rallied the hopes and dreams of men and women in every part of the world. Your Declaration of Independence is more than the basis of your own liberties. It is a world-wide charter of freedom

which challenges the best qualities that lie in the hearts of peoples everywhere.

The American Fourth of July is especially meaningful to my people in far-away Korea. We feel especially close to the events which have marked the long and heroic history of your own State of Rhode Island. You might be surprised to learn that Korean school children are inspired by the stories of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson. They feel a close spiritual kinship with these daring pioneers who courageously broke with a tyrannical government and set off into the wilderness to found a new State where honest and sincere people could live in real freedom.

It is, therefore, fit and proper that this day be observed with the splendor and ritual which the citizens of this representative municipality are marking this day. Your city of Bristol, Rhode Island, epitomizes the very heart of free America. Its every plot, nook, and corner, its architecture, its landscapes, its streets and squares are typical of the colonial America which gave birth to the Declaration of Independence. From the day of its settlement in 1680, the men and women and children of this beautiful New England city have lived and breathed freedom and Americanism. You, too, have lived through the tribulations of a struggle for freedom.

Korea today is perhaps closer even than is present-day America to the problems and the hardships, the hopes and the plans that marked those stirring revolutionary times in the embattled Colonies that were spending their blood to create a united and democratic nation.

Our country is now the scene of dreadful war, as were the thirteen Colonies at that time of the first Fourth of July. Our nation is forcibly divided and partially occupied by a foreign enemy now, as yours was then. And our people today are just as determined to win both unification and democracy as were your noble forefathers.

In a very real sense, the same battle for freedom which commenced here in 1775 is still being carried forward in Korea. Your Government and your people have shown their realization of this fact in the brave decision made two years ago to come and battle by our side.

In those days of the sailing vessel and the horse-back courier, freedom was a local matter, to be won and defended locally. Today, in this era of the atom bomb and the airplane, freedom simply cannot exist anywhere unless it is safeguarded everywhere. The "inalienable rights" of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are being defended on Korean battlefields today not for my people alone, but for Americans and for all democratic peoples of the world, as well.

The great fact that liberty is not divisible, that security is not unilateral, is what makes the Fourth of July inevitably a worldwide holiday in this era of guided missiles and misguided propaganda.

In Korea our thirty million people stand in the midst of a life-and-death struggle for existence as a free and democratic people. Our problem is two-fold, just as was the problem of the original

thirteen American Colonies. The parallels are of tremendous importance and ought not to be overlooked.

Your ancestors faced the strongest military power of that era, just as our people are under attack by the ruthless military force of the Communist Empire. Your revolutionary patriots commenced resistance alone, as ours did, and your cause was saved by the intervention of France, just as ours has been by the intervention of the United States and the United Nations.

You will recall that there were divisive factors among the thirteen Colonies, but these were overwhelmed beneath the driving determination of the Americans of those days to create a united nation. This is exactly the determination of the whole Korean nation today.

Our country was set aside by nature to be one nation, with the seas on three sides and the great range of mountains across the top of our peninsula. We were united for more than 4,000 years, until an agreement by the Great Powers at the end of the last war temporarily separated us. Soviet Russia has attempted first to keep us dis-united and then to conquer our entire country. When the conquest failed, the Communists have reverted to their original goal of keeping us dis-united.

We Koreans know that we cannot live "half slave and half free." We know that our nation must "become all one thing or all the other." And we are determined that we shall become "all free."

The thirteen American Colonies had a second problem — not only to drive out their foreign enemy, but also to create a truly democratic government. The early American patriots discovered that the original Articles of Confederation were inadequate, and they boldly set about to revise them into a new Constitution that would safeguard both national and individual liberties.

As I read your history, I find that the delegates to your Constitutional Convention exceeded their legal powers. Instead of merely amending the old Articles of Confederation, as they were appointed to do, they boldly threw that document out the window and drew up a new one. They were subjected to savage criticism for what was called "this act of lawlessness."

But General George Washington, who presided over that great Constitutional Convention, called upon the delegates to put aside timidity. He asked them to "raise a standard to which the wise and the just can repair." If they did this, he told them, "The event is in the hands of God." We know the result. American democracy was soundly established on the basis of the rights of all the people, and nothing that has happened since has been able to shake it from that secure foundation.

In Korea today, our great President Syngman Rhee, whom many have called the George Washington of Korea, is making a similar fight. He is attempting to secure a fundamental change in the Constitution which was hastily drawn up by the National Assembly in July, 1948. That Constitution was never ratified by direct vote of the people. It limited the rights of the people, primarily by provid-

ing that our President should be elected by the members of the National Assembly, rather than by the people themselves.

President Rhee today is leading a great fight to win for our people the same rights that were won for America in the Constitutional struggle of 1789. And in this fight he has the united support of the entire Korean population.

Just as savage critics misrepresented the efforts of your revolutionary patriots, so have critics today tried to label what President Rhee is doing as "dictatorship." This is either gross ignorance or a deliberate lie.

Ladies and gentlemen, our President Rhee has not taken a single step to seize personal power. Indeed, he gave up a vast amount of personal power when he held elections in April and May of this year to enable the people to elect 17,558 officials who under the Constitution had been appointed by the President.

What President Rhee wants is to sink the roots of genuine democracy deep into Korean soil by handing back to the people the right which, under God is inherently theirs — namely, the right to elect their own President.

President Rhee spent much of his life in America, where he learned what true democracy is. He was educated in Washington, in Harvard, and in Princeton. He was tutored by your great democrat, Woodrow Wilson. He has devoted his entire life to the cause of Korean freedom. Now, at the age of seventy-seven he has no ambition left except the same ambition which has dominated his entire life, the cause of Korean freedom.

The common people of Korea are with him one hundred per cent in this battle. Fourteen hundred communities and our seven Provincial Assemblies have already adopted resolutions joining him in the demand that the President must be elected by the people themselves. They will never stop struggling until this right is won.*

At a later stage in American history, when your nation was threatened with a tragic division into north and south, another great New England patriot, Daniel Webster, declared that there could be no compromise with either national or individual liberties. "Freedom and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever," he announced as the goal for which all Americans must fight. And fight they did, until these goals were won.

Our situation in Korea on this Fourth of July, 1952, is very similar. We too, face two battles at once. One is the fight for national re-unification — for Union. The other is an internal political struggle to safeguard the basic, inherent freedom of our whole people.

We, too, intend to fight on. And, like yours, our battles also will be won. We plead with you to stand by us, in sympathy and understanding, until our own portion of the world revolution of freedom has been achieved.

* On the very day this speech was delivered, July 4, 1952, the National Assembly of Korea voted 163-0 to amend the Constitution to provide for election of the President by popular vote.

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